CHAPTER III

DAIRIES AND BUFFALOES

181 THE milking and churning operations of the dairy form 234 the basis of the greater part of the religious ritual of the 771 Todas. The lives of the people are largely devoted to their 778 buffaloes, and the care of certain of these animals, regarded as more sacred than the rest, is associated with much ceremonial. 793 The sacred animals are attended by men especially set apart who form the Toda priesthood, and the milk of the sacred animals is churned in dairies which may be regarded as the Toda temples and are so regarded by the people themselves. The ordinary operations of the dairy have become a religious ritual and ceremonies of a religious character accompany nearly every important incident in the lives of the buffaloes.

Among the buffaloes held by the Toda to be sacred there are varying degrees of sanctity, and each kind of buffalo is tended at its own kind or grade of dairy by its own special grade of the priesthood; buffaloes and dairies forming an organisation the complexities of which were far from easy to unravel.

Each kind of dairy connected with its special kind of buffalo has its own peculiarities of ritual. The dairies form an ascending series in which we find increasing definiteness and complexity of ritual; increasing sanctity of the person of the dairyman-priest, increasing stringency of the rules for the conduct of his daily life, and increasing elaboration of the ceremonies which attend his entrance upon office. There are also certain dairies in which the ritual has developed in

special directions, and there are special features of the 181
organisation of buffaloes and dairies not only in each of the 234
two chief divisions of the Toda people, but also in many of 771
the clans of which each division is composed. 778

I propose in this chapter to sketch some of the chief 793
features of the buffalo and dairy organisation, and in succeeding chapters there will follow detailed accounts of the different dairies and of the ceremonial which accompanies the daily work of the dairy and the important events of buffalo life.

THE DAIRY ORGANISATION

The first distinction to be made concerns the buffaloes. 825
These animals are divided into those of a sacred character 234
and those which may be called 'ordinary buffaloes.' The latter are known as *putiir*; they may be kept at any village, are tended by the men and boys of the village—in Toda language, they are tended by *perol*, or ordinary persons—and their milk is churned in the front part of the dwelling-hut. There is no special ritual of any kind connected with these buffaloes or with their milk, and there are no restrictions on the use of the milk or its products.

The classification of the sacred buffaloes is very different 234
in the two divisions of the Toda people. The Teivaliol 621
possess only one class of sacred buffalo and these buffaloes
are called collectively *pasthir*. The Tartharol, on the other 463
hand, have several classes of sacred buffalo, and, so far as I 778
could ascertain, they have properly no collective term for all of 192
them, though they are often spoken of by the Teivali term, *pasthir*.

Possessing only one kind of sacred buffalo, the dairy organisation of the Teivaliol is comparatively simple. The milk of the *pasthir* is churned in dairies at the more important villages of each clan. The dairy is, in general, called *pali*,[1] and the dairyman is called *palikartmokh*, 'dairy watch-boy,' or *palikartpol*, 'dairy watch-man,'[2] according to his age; but,

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[1] This word should probably be *paḷḷi* and was usually pronounced *palthḷi*, but I have adopted the spelling of the text for the sake of simplicity.

[2] According to some Todas, *kart* was a shortened form of *karitht*, milking or milked.

234 probably owing to the general custom of employing youths or
621 young men to fill the office of dairyman, the term *palikartmokh*
463 is in far more general use, and is often employed even when
the dairyman is an elderly man.

778 At many of the chief Teivali villages, there are two dairies;
192 a large dairy, called *etudpali*, and a smaller, called *kidpali*.
Each of these dairies should have its own *palikartmokh*, and this is still the case when both dairies are used, but at most villages at the present time one of the two dairies has been disused and there is in consequence only one dairyman.

[421] Both ordinary and sacred buffaloes are the property, not of the whole clan, but of families or individuals, and the buffaloes tended at the dairy of a village are, in general, the property of the family living at that village. A large clan with many villages, such as that of Kuudr, has many dairies in working order and a corresponding number of dairymen.

Among the Tartharol the organisation is far more complicated. Most Tarthar clans have more than one kind of sacred buffalo in addition to the ordinary buffaloes or *putiir*. In every clan there is one kind of sacred herd which may be said to correspond to the *pasthir* of the Teivaliol. The milk of these buffaloes is churned in a dairy called *pali* by a dairyman called *palikartmokh* or *palikartpol*. There are, however, two grades of dairy corresponding to these buffaloes. The lower grade is called the *tarpali*, or more commonly *tarvali*, and is served by a *tarvalikartmokh*. The higher grade is called *kudrpali*, tended by a *kudrpalikartmokh*. There is no distinction of buffaloes corresponding to this distinction of dairies, the same buffaloes being tended sometimes at a *kudrpali* and sometimes at a *tarvali*. The distinguishing feature of a *kudrpali* is the possession of a *mani*, or sacred bell, and the greater elaboration and stringency of its ritual is due to the presence of this sacred object.

In addition to the buffaloes tended at the *tarvali* or *kudrpali*, most Tarthar clans possess other sacred buffaloes called *wursulir*. These buffaloes are tended by a dairyman called *wursol* and their milk is churned in a dairy called *wursuli* or *wursulipali*. One point which marks off this branch of the dairy organisation from the preceding is that

the dairyman, or *wursol*, must belong either to the Teivaliol 234
or to the Melgars clan of the Tartharol. Both *tarpalikartmokh* 621
and *kudrpalikartmokh* are chosen from the Tartharol, either 463
of the same or of a different clan from that of the dairy, but the
wursol must be taken either from the members of the other 778
chief division of the Todas or from one special clan of the 192
Tartharol, a clan which has many other peculiar privileges and occupies a position in some ways intermediate between Tartharol and Teivaliol.

The ritual of the *wursuli* is distinctly more elaborate than than that of either *tarvali* or *kudrpali*, and the *wursol* is a more sacred personage, so far as one can judge from his rules of conduct and the elaboration of his ordination ceremonies.

Two Tarthar clans have dairies of especial importance and sanctity, in both of which there are distinctive features of ritual.

The people of Taradr possess a herd of buffaloes called *kugvalir* which take their name from the dairy, the *kugvali* or *kugpali*, meaning the chief or great dairy. The *kugvalir* are tended by a *kugvalikartmokh*, who must belong to the Taradrol. The six chief families of this clan take charge of the buffaloes for periods of three years in rotation, and the head of the family in charge selects the *kugvalikartmokh*.

The other Tarthar dairy which occupies an exceptional position is that of *Kanòdrs*, which is called a *poh*, and is tended by a dairyman called *pohkartpol*. The ritual both of this dairy and of the *kugvali* of Taradr resembles in some respects that of the most sacred Toda dairies, the dairies of the institution called the *ti*.

The number and nature of the dairies are different in the different Tarthar clans and in different villages of the same clan. The Melgars clan has only one kind of dairy, the *tarvali*. The Nòdrs clan now has a *tarvali* and a *wursuli*, and at most Kars villages there are both *kudrpali* and *wursuli*, but formerly both at Nòdrs and Kars there were three kinds of dairy, *tarvali*, *kudrpali*, and *wursuli*. Some Pan villages have *tarvali* and *wursuli*, others *kudrpali* and *wursuli*. At Taradr there are both *tarvali* and *wursuli* in addition to the special institution of that clan, the *kugvali*.

234 All these various kinds of dairy are situated at the villages
621 where the people live. In addition, five Tarthar clans possess
778 dairies where are kept herds of great sanctity, the herds of
the *ti* or the *tiir*. These buffaloes are kept at special dairies far from any village where people live. A place where such a dairy is situated is called a *ti mad*, or *ti* village, and each sacred herd moves about from one *ti mad* to another at different seasons of the year, and the group of places, together with the herds connected with it, is known collectively as a *ti*.[1] The *ti* is thus the name of a special institution comprising buffaloes, dairies, grazing grounds, and the various buildings and objects connected with the dairies.

234 The *ti* is presided over by a dairyman-priest called *palol*, who
778 is assisted by a boy or youth called *kaltmokh* or, more rarely,
kavelol. Formerly it was the custom in most cases that a *ti*
463 should have two *palol*, each of whom had his own herd of
793 buffaloes and his own dairy, so that each *ti mad* had two
dairies. This custom now persists in full at one *ti* only, though in other cases there are still two dairies, of which one is not used, or is only used on special occasions.

Though the *ti* is, in every case, regarded as the property of a Tarthar clan, the *palol* must be chosen from the Teivaliol, and in some cases the choice is restricted to certain Teivali clans. The *kaltmokh* must belong either to the Teivaliol or to the Melgars clan of the Tartharol. The dairy of a *ti* is always called a *poh*.

The ritual of the *ti* reaches a far higher degree of complexity than is attained in any village dairy. The *palol* is a far more sacred personage than the *wursol* or the *palikartmokh*; his life is far more strictly regulated, and the ceremonies attendant on his entrance into office are far more elaborate. The ceremonies connected with dairy or buffaloes are more numerous, and when they correspond to ceremonies performed at the lower grades of dairy, they are much more elaborate and prolonged.

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[1] In previous accounts of the Todas, the place where these sacred herds are kept has always been called a *tirieri*. This is not properly a Toda term, but is that used by the Badagas.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

vidual name; thus the *kudrpali* of Kars is called Tarziolv, and 104
the *wursuli* of the same village, Karziolv. 196

In addition to these two sets of names, there is another 234
distinction of a more general kind. There are two general
names, *poh* and *pali*, and every dairy is one or other of these. 343
The former name is given to every *ti* dairy, to every dairy of 552
the conical form,[1] and to certain other dairies at the older and
more important villages. Some of the latter are ordinarily
called *pali*, but the name *poh* lingers in the name employed for
the dairies in prayer (see Chapter X), or in the individual
names of the dairies; thus the dairy at the ancient village of
Nasmiòdr is ordinarily called a *pali*, but its individual name
is *Tilipoh*. I think it probable that originally *poh* and *pali*
were the names of the two forms of dairy, the conical kind
being called *poh* and the ordinary kind *pali*. At the present
time every existing conical dairy is a *poh*, and every dairy
which is said to have been in the past of the conical form is
called *poh*. It seems probable that in many cases a dairy,
originally of the conical form, has been rebuilt in the same
form as the dwelling-hut, owing to the difficulty and extra
labour of reconstruction in the older shape; and that in some
of these cases the dairy of the new form has retained the
name of the old and is still called *poh*, at any rate on certain
occasions. All the dairies to which the name *poh* is ever given
are either *ti* dairies or are situated in villages of especial 234
antiquity and sanctity.

There is now no definite rule as to the grade of dairymen 463
who shall serve at a dairy called *poh*. The *poh* of a *ti* is, of 621
course, occupied by a *palol* and *kaltmokh*. The conical *poh* of 778
Nòdrs, the old conical *poh* of Kars, and several old dairies
which are still called *poh* in the prayers are, or were, tended
by dairymen of the rank of *wursol*, while several *poh* of
the ordinary shape belonging to the Teivaliol are occupied
by dairymen called *palikartmokh*. The only place at which
the dairyman takes his name from the *poh* is Kanòdrs, where
the conical dairy is occupied by a *pokkartpol*.

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[1] This word, in the forms *boa*, *boath*, &c., has by previous writers been limited to dairies of the conical shape. There is no doubt that it has at present a far wider application.

234 552 The following are among the buffalo names of which I have records:—Kûdzi or Kûrsi, Kâsimi, Pän or Pern, Kiûd or Kiûdz, Enmon, Koisi, Keien, Ilsh or Idrsh, Kârsthum, Perûv or Perov, Kebân, Enmars, Persud, Nerûv, Kôzi, Perith, Pülkoth, Persuth, Tòthi, Kerâni, Keirev, Püthiov, Peires, Nersâdr, Tâlg, Ûf, Köji, Persv, Arvatz, Kòjiû, Pundrs, Purkîsi, and Òrsum.

234 552 778 Both Tartharol and Teivaliol have the same names for their buffaloes, and it seemed that a buffalo of any village herd might have the same name as one belonging to the *ti*. It is possible, however, that certain names may be restricted to the *ti* herds. I collected some names which occurred only in these herds, but I cannot say positively that they might not also be used for less sacred buffaloes.

Male buffaloes are unnamed and appear to have little or no sanctity even when born of cows of the most sacred herds. The greater number of male calves are either killed at *erkumpthtiti* ceremonies (Chap. XIII) or given away to the Kotas. A few are kept for breeding purposes, usually in the proportion of two to every hundred females.

232 234 778 There is a singular absence of care about the breeding of the buffaloes. The Todas have many herds of which every female has some degree of sacredness, and it might have been expected that the bulls of a sacred herd would have been carefully chosen from the male calves of that herd. So far as I could ascertain after repeated inquiries, there was no restriction of any kind in the mating of the sacred animals; a bull of the ordinary buffaloes (*putiir*) of a village might even mate with the highly sacred animals of a *ti* dairy. No importance seemed to be attached to the question of paternity among the buffaloes, and so far as I could ascertain the people were quite indifferent whether the male was related or unrelated to the female, whether of the same or of another herd.

114 234 I did not hear of the existence of any ceremonies connected with the chosen male buffaloes. Marshall states[1] that a bull new from one of the sacred *ti* herds undergoes a process of sanctification before he is permanently installed,

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[1] *A Phrenologist among the Todas*, 1873, p. 132.

234 goes to sleep, often saying *Swami* as he lies down for the
512 night.

554 The *tarvali* of the Melgars people is in some ways
778 regarded as superior to the other *tarvali* of the Tartharol.
788 The Melgars *tarvalikartmokh* may not go to the *tarvali* of
another Tarthar clan, though the *tarvalikartmokh* of another clan may go to a Melgars *tarvali.* This was said to be due to the higher degree of sanctity of the Melgars dairy and office, but there do not appear to be any differences of ritual corresponding to this different degree of sanctity.

THE KUDRPALI

234 The special feature of the *kudrpali* is that it contains one
778 or more of the bells called *mani.* This involves several
788 additions to the ceremonial of the dairy, and these are
accompanied by more stringent rules of conduct for the dairyman.

234 Whenever engaged in his work, the *kudrpalikartmokh* must be
292 naked except for the *kuvn.* In the cold Nilgiri mornings it must
461 often be a very unpleasant task to have to milk the buffaloes
463 with no covering, and I was told that at some places, and
especially at Nòdrs, the people gave up the maintenance of a *kudrpali* on account of the difficulty experienced in obtaining men to undertake the office of dairyman.

234 When the *kudrpalikartmokh* is taking his meals, he must
264 hold his food in his hands till he has finished. He is not
778 allowed to put it down on the ground, as may be done by
the dairyman of the *tarvali.*

788 Soon after beginning to churn, the *kudrpalikartmokh* takes
up some of the broken-up curd (*adrpars*) and puts it on the bell (*mani*) three times, saying "*Oñ*" each time, and milk from the vessel first brought into the dairy is also put on the bell in the same manner.

234 At the *kudrpali* of Kars, the dairyman puts the curd and
778 milk on a board called *pato.* The bells of this dairy have
788 been lost, and the dairyman puts the milk on the board on
which the bells used to hang. The process of putting milk on the bells is properly called *terzantirikiti,* but the Todas

234 often speak of the process as "feeding the bell." At the
778 *kudrpali* of Kuzhu, belonging to the Kars clan, milk is put in
788 the same way on a gold bracelet.

When making butter, it will be remembered that the dairyman of the *tarvali* makes a certain amount, and then pours away the buttermilk, and repeats this till all the *adrpars* has been converted into butter and buttermilk. Whenever the *kudrpalikartmokh* pours away buttermilk, he takes a piece of the bark of the sacred *tudr* tree (*Meliosma pungens* and *Wightii*) and beats three times on the *patat*, saying "*Oñ*" each time. This ceremony is called *pepeirthti*, and is the exclusive privilege of the *kudrpalikartmokh*. If this ceremony should be omitted, the buttermilk may not be drunk by any one.

FIG. 21.—THE 'KUDRPALI' OF KARS, WITH THE 'KUDRPALIKARTMOKH' STANDING ON THE WALL. IN THE FOREGROUND IS THE MOUND CALLED 'IMUDRIKARS' IN THE BACKGROUND ON THE RIGHT IS THE CALF-HOUSE.

234 The *kudrpalikartmokh* is allowed to sleep in the ordinary
513 hut, but only on special days—viz., Sunday, Wednesday, and
554 Saturday—and on these days he must, like the *tarvalikartmokh*,
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called *martir*; to Nòdrs were given *nashperthir*; to Pan, 173
pineipir; to Melgars, *persasir*; these buffaloes originally given 234
being called in general *nòdrodvaiir*; lit. "buffaloes who 618
rule."

In various ways the buffaloes originally given to one clan 425
have passed into the possession of other clans. This has 431
happened when buffaloes have been purchased, but is chiefly due to the existence of several customs which involve gifts of buffaloes. The tradition also runs that soon after the buffaloes were originally given, the Nòdrs people built the *kudrpali* with seven rooms to which I have already referred and begged the Kars people for *martir* to milk at this dairy. Similarly the people of Kanòdrs borrowed *martir* from Kars to milk at their conical dairy, and similar transferences of buffaloes may have occurred between other clans. In these and possibly in other ways buffaloes have passed from one clan to another, and as the buffaloes have in many cases kept their original names, most clans now possess buffaloes of several kinds.

I was for a long time very doubtful about the relation of 234
the *kudrpali* and *tarvali* to one another, and had very great 778
difficulty in finding out which buffaloes belonged to each kind of dairy. Finally, it became quite clear that the same buffaloes might be milked either at a *kudrpali* or a *tarvali*, and that the possession of a *mani* was the chief point which determined whether a given dairy was a *kudrpali* or a *tarvali*.

The same kind of buffalo may be milked at one kind of 234
dairy in one clan and at the other kind in another clan. The 618
nashperthir of Nòdrs are milked at the *tarvali* of that place,
but those of Kars are milked at the *kudrpali* together with the 621
martir. Further, in at least one case, the same buffaloes 778
might be milked in one village of a clan at a *kudrpali* and in another village at a *tarvali*. The Pan people now live chiefly at Naters and the chief villages of the clan in the Kundahs, Pan and Kuirsi, are deserted during the greater part of the year. When these villages are occupied the *pineipir* are milked at their *kudrpali* dairies, but when the people are at Naters the same buffaloes are milked at the *tarvali*. The *mani* is left at Pan, and I was told that if the bell were to be

234 618 621 778 brought to Naters a *kudrpali* would have to be built for its reception and the *pineipir* would then be milked at this dairy.

At the present time the only clan which has a *kudrpali* in constant use is that of Kars. The Pan clan only uses its *kudrpali* during the few months that the villages in the Kundahs are occupied. The Nòdrs clan is said to have had a *kudrpali* at one time, but the fact that they had to borrow buffaloes for it from Kars points to the especial connexion of the *kudrpali* with the latter clan.

Although the Karsol and Panol are the only clans which have a *kudrpali*, the special feature of which is the possession of a *mani*, these are not the only clans which own these sacred bells. In other cases the *mani* belongs to the next higher grade of dairy, the *wursuli*, and the Kars clan itself also possesses *mani* kept at this grade of dairy. Indeed, although the Kars *kudrpali* is said to have bells as its special feature, these bells do not really exist, having been stolen some years ago. The fiction of their presence is, however, kept up, and, as we have seen, the place where they should hang is still 'fed' with curd and milk.

234 421 618 621 In one case, that of the Kars *kudrpali*, I worked out in detail the ownership and care of the buffaloes called *martir*. There were altogether forty-eight of these buffaloes kept at six places and tended by seven dairymen, who were chosen from the Karsol or from the people of Nòdrs, Pan, Taradr or Keradr.

The distribution at the time of my visit was as follows :—

Kutadri (7)	possessed	8	buffaloes	kept at	Kars	tended by	Idjen of Taradr (22)
Kutthurs (12)	,,	8	,,	,,	,,	,,	Tilipa of Kars (12)
Parkurs (8)	,,	8	,,	,,	Isharadr	,,	Kosners of Nòdrs (6)
Pidrvan (9)	,,	6	,,	,,	Pakhalkudr	,,	Tidjkudr of Nòdrs (6)
Kuinervan (14)	,,	6	,,	,,	Peletkwur	,,	Pons of Keradr (26)
Potheners (10)	,,	6	,,	,,	Keshker	,,	Palpa of Pan (16)
Nudriki (8)	,,	3	,,	,,	Kuzhu	,,	Mutkudr of Kars (15)
Mongeithi (15)	,,	3	,,	,,	,,	,,	,, ,,

It will be noticed that in only two of the dairies did the *palikartmokh* belong to the Karsol, and in each case he looked after the buffaloes of his own father, Mutkudr also tending the buffaloes of Nudriki. Idjen was the son-in-law of

as if these three objects are removed because they are used 562
by women. The emblems of womanhood are not allowed 784
to contaminate the house while the *wursol* is present, although, 793
at the same time, he is not restricted from intercourse with the women themselves. On the mornings after he has slept in the hut he bathes from head to foot before going to the dairy, and prostrates himself at the threshold before he enters.

If the cloak of the *wursol* requires cleaning or mending, it may only be taken to the hut for these purposes on the same days as those on which the *wursol* may sleep there—viz., Sunday or Wednesday.

The food of the *wursol* is prepared for him by the *palikartmokh* of the dairy in which he sleeps. The *wursol* never prepares food either for himself or others, except on the occasion of the festival called *irpalvusthi* (see Chap. VIII).

Most *wursuli* have only one room, the exception being the 234
poh at Nòdrs, and the *wursuli* of Nasmiòdr and Òdr. It 343
is noteworthy that these, however, are three of the most 778
ancient and important dairies of the Todas. The reason why
the other *wursuli* have one room is probably the fact that the 788
wursol is not allowed to sleep in the dairy, and consequently there is no necessity for an outer room. When these dairies have been rebuilt, or new dairies have been made, the Todas have probably not thought it worth while to keep two rooms except at the especially important and sacred places. I was also told, however, that each of the three places which have two rooms had been at one time a *ti* dairy, and, as we shall see later, dairies of this, the highest, grade always have two rooms.

Another indication of the special sanctity of these three dairies is that at them, and also at the *wursuli* at Kozhtudi, the *wursol* must never turn his back on the contents of the dairy—*i.e.*, he must do all his work and go in and out of the dairy facing the place where the *mani* is kept. The Todas call this proceeding in which the back is never turned on the contents of the dairy "*kabkaditi.*"

The vessels of the *wursuli* are divided, like those of the 343
ordinary dairy, into those of the *patatmar* and those of the 352

leaves of the kind called *kakuders*. He drinks three times 234
only, raising the leaves to his forehead and saying "*On*" each 415
time. 788

In this more definite ceremonial when drinking buttermilk, we have a transition to the ritual of the *ti*, and this resemblance to the procedure of the *ti* is still more marked in the following features. In addition to the *kugvalir*, the *kugvalikartmokh* has certain ordinary buffaloes, *putiir*, to provide milk for his personal use, and these buffaloes are milked in a special vessel called *kuvun* (*kupun*). This vessel is also used to transfer butter and buttermilk from the *patatmar* to the *ertatmar*, *i.e.*, buttermilk is not poured directly from the *patatpun* into the *majpariv*, but poured from the former into the *kuvun* and from this into the *majpariv*, and similarly the butter is transferred from *patatpun* to *pepariv* by means of the same vessel.

THE DAIRY OF KANÒDRS

Another dairy-temple which occupies an exceptional posi- 343
tion is the *poh* at Kanòdrs. This is a dairy of the conical form, shown in Fig. 25, which differs from that of Nòdrs in being surrounded by two walls (*katu*), both of which are shown in the photograph.

According to one account the people of Kanòdrs borrowed 234
martir from Kars to be milked at this dairy, but at the present 463
time, when the dairy is occupied, the cattle milked are those
called *naskperthir*. 554

The dairyman at this *poh* is called *pohkartpol* and must be a 778
Kanòdrs man. During my visit, the dairy was not occupied and the office of *pohkartpol* was vacant. At the present time a dairyman is appointed about once a year and holds office for thirty or forty days only. So far as I could ascertain, the failure to occupy the dairy constantly is due to the very considerable hardships and restrictions which have to be endured by the holder of the office of dairyman, and the time is probably not far distant when this dairy, one of the most sacred among the Todas, will cease altogether to be used.

234 When a *pohkartpol* is in office he is allowed to have one
554 companion, who is a *perol*, or ordinary person, *i.e.*, he undergoes
778 no special ordination ceremony. With the exception of the
two men, no one is allowed to go near the building for
784 any purpose. When I visited the place, my guide stayed
793 a considerable distance away from and out of sight of the
dairy while I went with my interpreter to inspect the building
and its surroundings. The *pohkartpol* and his companion

[343
351]

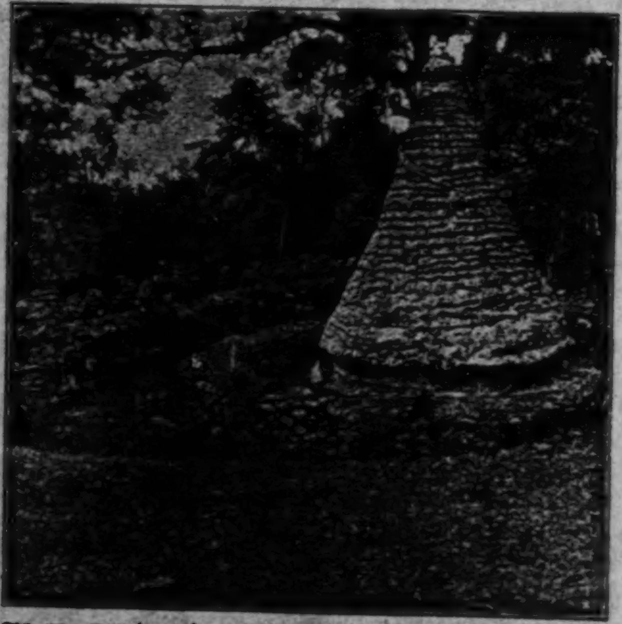

FIG. 25.—THE 'POH' OF KANÒDRS. THE TWO WALLS ARE SHOWN.

sleep in the *kwotars*, or calf-house, in which there is a bed (*tün*) for each. This building has no door and is a very flimsy structure, so that sleeping in it can differ very little from sleeping in the open air. There is a fireplace between the two beds, but its warmth can hardly be sufficient for any degree of
292 comfort. Further, the *pohkartpol* may only wear the *tuni*, a
793 very scanty garment as compared with the *putkuli*. The *pohkartpol* must be celibate while in office, and his companion, must also be celibate while at the dairy.

must also be celibate while at the dairy. The *pohkartpol* 264
must take his food sitting on the outer wall which surrounds 554
the dairy. He must not put his hand to his mouth, but must 784
throw his food in; nor must he put the leaf used as a cup to his 788
lips, but must pour into his mouth from above.

Several of these rules and restrictions are even more severe 793
than those for the *palol*, to be considered in the next chapter. The reason given for the strictness of ritual is that the god Kwoto or Meilitars "had done so many wonderful things on that side" (see Chapter IX).

One feature peculiar to the Kanòdrs dairy is that milk 192
receives the special name *persin*. This is the name of 234
the churning-vessel of the *ti*, but is not used for milk in any other dairy. Otherwise the names used at Kanòdrs are the same as at other village dairies.

THE TEIVALI DAIRY

Among the Teivaliol, the various grades of dairy and dairy- 184
men so far considered have no existence. Many Teivali 234
villages have two dairies, but each is served by a *palikartmokh*
of the same rank. 621

The general procedure of the Teivali dairy does not appear
to differ in any very marked respect from that of the Tarthar [292]
tarvali. The most marked difference which I could discover is in the clothing of the dairyman. When engaged in the dairy operations, the Teivali *palikartmokh* wears, at any rate in some cases, the *tuni*, or garment of dark grey cloth of the same kind as that worn by the *wursol*.

The sacred buffaloes of the Teivaliol are known as *pasthir*, and there are no differences corresponding to the different grades of the Tartharol. Similarly with one exception, the Teivali *pasthir* of each clan have no special names like the *mortir*, *nashperthir*, &c., of the Tartharol. The exception is that the buffaloes of the Piedr clan are called *kudeipir* or *kudipir*, apparently the same name as that of the
wursulir of Pan. 234

The village of Kiudr, belonging to the Kuudrol, possesses a 621
dairy of special sanctity (see Fig. 31). It is served by a 778

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palikartmokh, and it does not appear to have any special complexities of ritual except in connexion with certain bells which this dairy contains. There are six of these bells, two kept on the *patatmar*, called *patatmani*, and four kept on the *ertatmar*, called *ertatmani*. During the dairy ceremonial these bells are 'fed' by the *palikartmokh*, the *patatmani* receiving milk and the *ertatmani* buttermilk. I only became aware of the existence of these bells incidentally, and had not the opportunity of ascertaining their history or meaning. It is clear, however, that they differ from the *mani* of the Tartharol and from those of the Piedr clan among the Teivaliol in that they are never used at a funeral (see p. 352).

184 234 616 theless the Tartharol are very proud of the fact that the institution of the *ti* belongs to their division, and whenever I asked a Tarthar man why he considered his people superior to the Teivaliol, the answer always ran that they had the *ti* and that the Teivaliol who tended the *ti* were their servants.

234 778 The buffaloes belonging to a *ti* are of two kinds, distinguished as *persinir* and *punir*. The former are the sacred buffaloes, and the elaborate ceremonial of the *ti* dairy is concerned with their milk. The *punir* correspond in some respects to the *putiir* of the ordinary village dairy, and their milk and its products are largely for the personal use and profit of the *palol* and are not treated with any special ceremony. The *persinir* are usually of various kinds, but the nature of their classification is different at each *ti* and its consideration may be postponed till later.

115 124 234 I obtained most of my information from people connected with the Nòdrs *ti*. During the whole of my visit the herds of this *ti* were at Mòdr, which is only about a mile from the Paikara bungalow. Owing to the restrictions on intercourse with so sacred a personage as a *palol*, it was not practicable to obtain all my information from those actually in office, and I found it best to work with men who had formerly held the post and had retired. I worked chiefly with Kaners (63), an old man who had been *palol* at the Nòdrs *ti*, and with Koboners (58), who had been at the Kars *ti*. For some time I worked with one or other of these two men every day, paying occasional visits to Mòdr to observe as much of the ceremonial as I was allowed to see. On these occasions I was also able to consult Karkievan, the chief *palol*, on points about which the ex-officials were doubtful.

Both Kaners and Koboners were trustworthy witnesses, but Kaners was old and had given up his office some time before, and in consequence often committed faults of omission. Koboners was an admirable informant, and the fulness of the account of the *ti* ceremonial is largely due to him. It must be remembered that I was only able to see for myself a few superficial features of the ceremonial, and that my account is based on the descriptions given by these and other men, but

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nevertheless I have a considerable degree of confidence in its essential accuracy.

The dairy of a *ti* is always called *poh*, whatever its shape may be, and at those places where there is, or should be, more than one *palol*, each has his own dairy. In these cases the work of one dairy goes on quite independently of the other, each *palol* being only allowed to enter and work in his own building. In addition to the dairy, or dairies, there is at each *ti mad* a hut in which the *palol* and *kaltmokh* sleep and in which the latter takes his food. When there are two *palol*, both sleep in the same hut. There is a house for the calves called *karenpoh*, corresponding to the *kwotars* of the village dairy. 234 343 793

The milking-place of a *ti mad* is called *pepkarmus* instead of *irkarmus*, as at the ordinary dairy, and is usually enclosed so that the buffaloes are screened from the eyes of ordinary people. 234 417 778 ●

There is always one buffalo-pen, or *tu*,[1] for ordinary use, and at some places two others, called *pon tu*, or festival pens, used on the ceremonial occasions of migration from one place to another and of salt-giving.

The surroundings of the dairy are called *pül*, and there is a special part of the *pül* to which alone the ordinary Toda is allowed to go, and he may only go there by a special path. Each *ti* dairy which I visited was by the side of a wood and the place for ordinary Todas was in the wood.

At a little distance from the dairy there is the source from which the water for sacred purpose is drawn. This source is called *kwoinir*, and at Mödr, where there was a *kwoinir* for each *palol*, it was a spring built in with stones, and not a stream as at most villages. In addition to the *kwoinir* there is also a stream from which water is taken by the *kaltmokh*, who is not allowed to go to the sacred spring. 234 312 778

There are various stones and other objects of ceremonial importance at most *ti* places, but the description of these may be given with that of the ceremonies in which they play a part.

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[1] The proper name for the pen at the *ti* was *mudnudr*, and for the calf-pen, *nab-kudr*, but my informants always used the ordinary words *tu* and *kudr*.

234 *Kwoinörtpet*. A wand carried by the *palol* with the *kwoi*
412 and used to keep away the calves when milking.

415 *Todikk*. Rattan rings used when carrying the dairy vessels.

Idrkwoi. A bamboo vessel containing about one *kudi*. It is used to transfer butter and buttermilk from the vessels of the inner room to the vessels of the outer room, and is kept midway between the two rooms. There is nothing corresponding to it in the village dairy, except at the *kugvali*, where the *kwoan* is used in the same way.

Aling. Earthenware vessels used as receptacles for buttermilk and butter in the outer room. There are at least two of these vessels, usually more. This vessel corresponds to the *pariv* of the village dairy.

Uppun. A bamboo vessel which is used to hold the buttermilk which the *palol* drinks.

Mörkudriki. A vessel used like a ladle to transfer buttermilk from the *aling* to the *uppun* or the *mörpun*. It corresponds to the *majertkudriki* or *askkiok* of the ordinary dairy.

Karpun. A bamboo vessel used to milk the *punir*, or ordinary buffaloes of the *ti* herds.

Turavali. The cooking-pot of which the ordinary name is *kirattkadi*.

Gudshoi. An earthenware pot to hold *nei* or ghi. Its ordinary name is *pathrs*.

The *mörpun*, kept in the sleeping-hut, is a bamboo vessel used by the *kaltmokh* to hold buttermilk both for himself and for certain privileged visitors called *mörol*.

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415 The earthenware vessels of the inner room are not obtained from the Kotas, like the ordinary vessels, but are made by
427 Hindus, and are procured through the Badagas.

234 The *palol* has two garments, one of which, the *kubuntuni*, he wears when not engaged in dairy-work, while the other,
292 the *pidrshtuni*, is worn during the dairy-work or other ceremonial. The latter is kept in the outer room when not in use.

234 There are usually two kinds of bell at the *ti*, one kind con-
778 nected with the more sacred buffaloes and another belonging to the *punir*. The bells of the first kind, called *mani*, are

kept in the inner room, and are tied on the necks of certain 234
buffaloes for a short time on special occasions. The other 778
bells, called *kudrs mani*, are kept outside the door of the dairy and are put on the necks of the *punir* on the same occasions.

There were several points of interest about the lamps used 234
to light the dairies. At one time it seems that every *palol* 354
was provided with an iron lamp with a number of cavities, each cavity being fitted with a wick. These lamps are reputed to have been as old as the foundation of the *ti* dairies. One of the lamps which is still in existence at the Nòdrs *ti* (that of the *warspok*) is said to have been brought from Amnòdr. There is some doubt about the exact number of cavities and wicks in these lamps, but in the existing lamp of the Nòdrs *ti* there seems to be little doubt that there are seven cavities and wicks, and the lamp is called *önavpelk*, "the lamp of the seven holes." All the seven wicks are only lighted on special occasions (*pornol*), and on most days only one is
used. At some dairies these iron lamps have been long lost, [314]
and in these cases the *palol* used to make lamps of the bark of the *tudr* tree. According to Marshall (p. 141), these lamps have five wicks, and this appears to be still the case at the Kars *ti*, where there were formerly two iron lamps, one with five cavities and one with four, and in the lamp now used at this *ti* they still keep up the use of five wicks on special occasions, using only two on ordinary days. It is possible that Marshall derived his information from a man who had been *palol* at this *ti*. At one of the dairies of the Pan *ti* there is an old iron lamp with seven cavities, and at the other, where
a bark lamp is used, it has three wicks. At the present time [177]
the dairymen rarely trouble to make bark lamps, but are content with earthenware lamps procured from the bazaar. If these are broken and cannot be replaced at once, bark lamps are used during the interval. The wicks of the lamps, for whichever lamp they may be used, are always made of *tuni* taken from the garments worn by the *palol*, and the substance used in the lamps is butter.

Of the two fireplaces in the outer room, the *tirutthwaskal* is used for ordinary purposes, for cooking food, &c. The with the world in general act as deterrents to those who are thinking of becoming candidates for the vacant places. 234 463

Another point about which several writers have erred is in supposing that the *palol* is important in the general government of the Todas and in stating that the Todas go to him for counsel and advice. I inquired into this very carefully, and there seemed to be no doubt whatever that the *palol* has absolutely no functions outside the management of his dairy and of ceremonies connected with it. He has no place on the *naim*, or council, and only appears before it as defendant or witness in matters connected with the *ti*. I could not ascertain that any one ever consults the *palol* on any business except that of the *ti*, and outside his office he has nothing whatever to do, and is little thought of by the Todas. The sanctity attaching to the *palol* and the reverence paid to him are attached and paid wholly to the holder of the office and not at all to the man. 554 793

The ordinary Toda may only approach the *palol* on two days of the week, Monday and Thursday. On other days, if he wishes to communicate, he must stand a considerable distance from the *ti*—it was said as much as a quarter of a mile—and carry on his conversation from this distance. I had, however, the opportunity of observing that the distance was diminished on some occasions. 554 558 778 783 793

On no account may a *palol* ever be touched by an ordinary person. A *palol* becomes himself an ordinary person, or *perol*, if either he or his dairy should be touched by any unconsecrated person. Recently Nòdrners (67) lost the office of *palol* to the *wursir* at the Nòdrs *ti*, because a Tamil man went to his dairy while he was out looking after his buffaloes; he was soon reappointed, but to another *ti*.

The Toda who approaches the *palol* must go *kevenarut*, *i.e.*, with his right arm out of the cloak, and there is a definite form of salutation which is different for Tartharol and Teivaliol. When one of the former approaches, the *palol* says "*Baṅ*," and the Tarthar man replies "*Ïr kaḍḍâ*," literally "Buffalo, calf, have you?" To one of the Kuudrol, the chief Teivali clan, the *palol* says the *kwarzam*, or sacred name of Kuudr, followed by the word *idith*, *i.e.*, he utters the words *Ivikanmokh* 793 576

234 The *kwoi* or milking vessel is the only vessel which is not
412 purified inside the dairy. With the exception of this vessel
415 all the other objects used in the dairy are purified in the
776 outer room or at the junction of the inner and outer rooms.
All old, broken or worn-out vessels or implements are
763 thrown away except the *kwoi*, which must be buried in a wood near a dairy. Thus this vessel is treated unlike other contents of the dairy, both when being purified and when rejected as of no further use. I could obtain no explanation of this, and can only suggest that the exceptional treatment is due to the fact that it comes into actual contact with the sacred buffaloes.

THE FIVE TI

173 At present there are only five *ti* in existence, belonging to
234 the clans of Nòdrs, Kars, Pan, Kwòdroni, and Nidrsi. The
Keradrol are said to have had a *ti* at one time which was
621 spirited away by the god Kwoto (see Chap. IX) and the
773 name of one of its places, Tikirs, is still preserved.

The most important *ti* belongs to Nòdrs and this is one of the original institutions, the *ti* of Kars and that of Kwòdrdoni being the others. The Pan *ti* is derived from that of Nòdrs (see story of Kwoten), and the Nidrsi *ti* is an offshoot of the Kwòdrdoni institution.

Of these five *ti*, that of Nòdrs is the only one which still has two *palol*. The Kars *ti* has only one *palol*, and similarly that of Pan. The *ti* of Kwòdrdoni and Nidrsi are at present unoccupied. At the Kwòdrdoni *ti* the office is filled once a year for a limited period in order to satisfy certain requirements of the Kotas.

No *ti* is allowed to be vacant when the final funeral ceremonies are performed for any member of the clan to which the *ti* belongs, and it is only on the occasion of these ceremonies that a *palol* is now appointed to the Nidrsi *ti*.

Each *ti* has certain features of organisation and procedure peculiar to itself. There are certain differences of ritual and differences in the names and kinds of the buffaloes and sacred objects. The history and special features of each *ti* will now be considered.

THE NÒDRS TI

The goddess Teikirzi lived at Nòdrs and was its ruler, and 173
Nòdrs was in consequence especially favoured when the 234
various buffaloes were distributed by this deity. When Püv
died and Ön went away to Amnòdr (see p. 185), the Nòdrs *ti* 773
and its buffaloes went with him. Teikirzi, who remained behind, found after a time that it was not good to rule a country without a *ti*, so she complained to Ön and asked him to send the buffaloes back. He consented and people were sent from Nòdrs to Amnòdr to fetch the buffaloes. Ön gave them the buffaloes and all the things of the *ti*, and he also gave a milking vessel and a churning stick made of gold. When the men started to bring back the buffaloes, they went some way and then found that they had forgotten the gold vessel and churn given to them by Ön. So they went back and asked Ön for the two things. Ön refused to give them up as they had not been taken at first, and it is believed that they are still in the dairy at Amnòdr.

Ön told the men who returned to ask for the things they [415] had forgotten that the Todas were to make the vessel and churn of bamboo. They were to go to the hill called Teikhars or Kulinkars, where they would find a flower called *kavulpuv*, and he told them to make a new *kòghlag* of the same shape as that flower. They did so, and ever since that time the churning-stick both at the *ti* and at the ordinary village has been made so that it is like the flower *kavulpuv*.

Another incident which occurred during the journey of the 173
ti buffaloes back from Amnòdr was the birth of a *mani*. One 234
of the two *palol* was carrying the dairy vessels of the inner 773
room, and the other was carrying the *mani* called Keu.
When they were about half-way back to this world, the *palol* 778
who was carrying the dairy vessels found that they had become very heavy, so he put them down, and, taking off the *tòrsum* which was covering one of the *persin*, he found a bell in the milk of the *persin*. So they called the bell Persin because it was the son of a *persin*, and to this day the bell is fed with milk because it was born in milk. It is the *mani* which is kept in the *ti poh* of the Nòdrs *ti*, while the other

[772] *mani*, Keu, carried by the other *palol*, is kept in the *wars poh* 173 and this bell, Keu, is not fed with milk.

234 When the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* returned from Amnòdr, 773 they talked like men. One day when the *palol* told the *kaltmokh* to bring the calves, the buffaloes used bad language such as may not be uttered before women; they would not obey the *palol*, and refused to allow him to milk them. Then Teikirzi found that it was bad that buffaloes should have the tongues of men, and she dragged the tongues out of the mouths of the buffaloes and made them new tongues of *tudr* bark. The buffaloes could then talk no longer, and they allowed themselves to be milked.

173 Originally the Nòdrs *ti* had three places, or *ti mad*, given 221 to it by Teikirzi: Anto, Òdrtho, and Kulâdrtho. Later the 234 people made other *ti mad*, and at one time, in addition to the three, they had the following places:—Mòdr, Kudreiil, 621 Majòdr, Mûkòdr, Tîdj, Pûth, and Pòos. Several of these are 773 now disused or have disappeared altogether, but are still mentioned in the prayer of the *ti*. Of the three original places, Kulâdrtho has disappeared and its place is occupied by the Prospect tea estate. The sites of Tîdj and Pûth are also occupied by tea estates. The way to Pòos has been blocked by a Kota village, so that the buffaloes would be unable to reach it without being defiled by going through the village, and, in consequence, this dairy is not used. Mukòdr is very close to another *ti mad*, probably Majòdr, and the *palol* "were lazy" and allowed it to fall into ruins. There is a conical dairy, now in ruins, near Makurti Peak, which belonged to the Nòdrs *ti*, and it is possible that this is the dairy of Mukòdr.

The herds now spend the greater part of the year at Mòdr, but still go in most years to Anto, Òdrtho, Kudreiil, and Majòdr at certain seasons.

The Nòdrs *ti* has two kinds of *persinir*, the *tiir* and the *warsir*, each of which has its own *palol*. There are also the *punir* for the special use of the *palol*. The *tiir* have three subdivisions, the *unir*, the *atir*, and the *teirtir*, so called because descended from certain buffalo ancestors, or *nòdrkutchi*, who were connected with Anto, Tîdj, and Teir. The *warsir*,

followed the buffaloes, the Kuudr people should no longer 173
have the privilege of becoming *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti*, and that 234
in future the *palol* of this *ti* should be taken either from 618
Piedr or Kusharf.

At the present time[1] the *palol* of the *tiir* is Karkievan of 773
Piedr, who has now been continuously in office for sixteen 793
years, having also had a previous period of office as *palol*. The *palol* of the *warsir* is Nerponers of Kusharf (66), who had been in office for about a year at the time of my visit. The *kaltmokh* is Katsog of Kuudr (55).

Although now one *palol* belongs to Piedr and the other to Kusharf, it is not necessary that this should be so and it has happened frequently that both *palol* have belonged to the Piedrol.

The *mani* of the *tiir*, which is said to be made of iron, is 234
that called Persin, of whose miraculous birth an account has 552
been given. The *mani* of the *warsir* is called Keu, and is said 778
to be made partly of gold, partly of silver, and partly of iron. Milk is put on the former bell by the *palol* at every churning and milking, but Keu is not 'fed.'

In addition there are four *mani* of the kind called *kudrs*, which are tied to the *punir* and kept outside the door of the dairy. Three of these belong to the *punir* of the *ti palol*, and are called Arvatz, Kiûdz, and Kerâni, and should be tied to buffaloes named Püthiov, Peires, and Nersâdr respectively. The fourth bell belongs to the *punir* of the *wars palol*, and is called Kerâni. It should be tied to a buffalo named Tâlg.

The lamp of the *wars poh* is one of those made of iron, 234
and is said to have come from Amnòdr. It is called 354
Önâvpelk, the lamp of the seven holes. The *ti poh* had a
similar lamp at one time, but it has been lost. 552

Three horns are kept in the sleeping-hut of the Nòdrs 773
ti. Two belong to the *tiir*, and are called Kiûdrkûdr and 778
Pudothkûdr. The third belongs to the *warsir*, and is called Teigun. (For the origin of these horns see the story of Korateu or Kuzkarv in Chap. IX.)

One feature of the *ti poh* at Mòdr, which is certainly not

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[1] In 1902.

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at least of those at Enòdr was of the conical variety and had the special name of Medrpoh. Enòdr has now fallen into disuse. It was a few miles to the north-east of Ootacamund, and it was no longer visited because the buffaloes would have had to pass through Ootacamund in going from Makârs to Enòdr and would have been defiled. Makârs, which is near the Nanjanad valley, is now the chief place of the *ti*, and the buffaloes were there at the time of my visit.

Another important and ancient place of the Kars *ti* is Kòn (Lingmand) in the Kundahs. In the story of Kwoto (see p. 204) the buffaloes were going to Enòdr from Kòn when the boy showed his miraculous knowledge of the buffalo *kwarzam*. Two other places are Nerâdr and Pars. Both Kòn and Nerâdr are still used, but Pars, which is not far from Ootacamund, is no longer used, having been given up because Badagas went to live near it.

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As at the Nòdrs *ti*, there are two kinds of *persinir* in addition to the *punir*. The two kinds are called *pürsir* and *parsir*, the former being also sometimes called *enòdrir*. Although there are two kinds of sacred buffalo with their corresponding dairies, there has never been more than one *palol*. When a *palol* is appointed to this *ti*, he is ordained to the office of *palol* to the *parsir*, and, for the first month, he attends to these buffaloes only and enters their dairy, the *parspoh*, only. At the end of the month, he becomes *palol* to the *pürsir*, with certain ceremonies, to be described later, and from that time to the end of his period of office he works in the *pürspoh* only and never enters the *parspoh*, although he continues to attend to the *parsir* as well as to the *pürsir*. The milk of the *parsir* is mixed with that of the *pürsir* in the vessels of the dairy belonging to the latter kind of buffalo. This dairy, which is usually called *pürspoh* after the buffaloes, has also the special name of Kakanmudri.

[552] 234 778

There is one bell belonging to the *pürsir* which has three names, Perner, Uner, and Persagan, but it is also often called Ner. Koboners told me that this bell is usually quite black, but that he had once rubbed off the thick layer of soot and dust with which it is covered and had found that it was made of gold. It seems to have been of a light colour and

234 may have been made of bronze. There is also a bell belong-
778 ing to the *parsir* called Talg.

173 Formerly the *palol* of the Kars *ti* was chosen from the
Melgarsol, but this clan lost the privilege owing to the mis-
234 behaviour of one of their number when holding the sacred
618 office. The buffaloes were standing at Enòdr, and the Melgars
793 *palol* was milking a buffalo, when he saw a honey-bee. He got up, left the buffalo, and went after the bee, leaving his milking-vessel behind. He followed the bee, found the nest, took the comb, ate some of the honey, gave the remainder to the *kaltmokh* to put in the hut, and then went back and continued to milk the buffalo, whose name was Kän. When he had finished milking, he was taking the milk into the dairy when a plank fell on his head and he was killed. Then it was decided that Melgars people should no longer be *palol*, and that the office in future should be filled from the Teivaliol. Whenever the Todas wish to refer to the fact that the Melgars people have lost the right of being *palol*, they say, "*Kän kârvûk kiñzthenis ûpi vûchi*," or, "Kän milking, bee he followed after."

The *palol* is now taken from Piedr, Kusharf or Kuudr, and the present holder of the office is Nòdrners (67) of Kusharf. The dairies of this *ti* are always near those of the Pan *ti*, and the two *palol* share one *kaltmokh* between them, the present holder of this office being Teitun (64) of Piedr.

THE PAN TI

173 The legend of the origin of this *ti* will be given in full in
234 the story of Kwoten (Chap. IX). When this hero was
reproved by his wife because the Pan people had no *ti*, he
621 obtained buffaloes from the Nòdrs *ti*, so that the Pan *ti* appears
773 to have been later in origin than those of Nòdrs and Kars, and
793 to have been derived from the former.

Certain of the buffaloes are reputed to be descended from an ancestor made by Teikhars or Kulinkars (see the story of this god in Chap. IX).

The most important dairy of this *ti* appears to have been situated at Tarsòdr or Tazòdr in the Kundahs, which is the

173 The dairy of the *warsir*, or the *warspoh*, is closed and may
234 not be entered by the *palol*, and he is not allowed to milk
618 the *warsir*, though he may milk the *punir* belonging to the
warspoh.

793 Formerly the *palol* of the *tarsir* was chosen from the Kwaradr division of the Keadrol and the *palol* of the *warsir* from the other division of this clan, this arrangement being said to have been ordained by Kwoten.

The Kwaradr division is now extinct and the remainder of the Keadrol are not very numerous, and the present *palol* of the *tarsir* is Peilet (64) of Piedr. A few years ago both dairies were occupied, the *palol* of the *tarsir* being Naburs (64) of Piedr, and the *palol* of the *warsir*, Pichievan (69) of Keadr. The latter is said to have thrown up his office because the income was not large enough.

[765] If there should be a death among the Panol, the second funeral ceremonies (the *marvainolkedr*, or so-called 'dry funeral') could not take place unless both dairies were occupied. Since Pichievan resigned, no Pan man has died, but when this happens a second *palol* would have to be appointed before the *marvainolkedr* could be held.

234 The *tarsir* have two bells, called Kòsi and Pongg. The
354 former is tied on a buffalo called Kòsi, and Pongg on one
778 called Enmars. Milk is only put on the bell called Kòsi.
At the dairy of these buffaloes there is an iron lamp of the
463 ancient kind with seven cavities and seven wicks, and the horn
is called Kwatadr. The *warsir* have one bell, called Keituzan, which is put round the neck of a buffalo called Kòjiu. The old iron lamp belonging to these buffaloes has been lost and an earthenware or bark lamp is used in its stead. The horn is called Persagan, but as these buffaloes have no *palol*, this horn is not now blown.

The people of Pan are *mòrol* at this *ti*.

THE KWÒDRDONI TI

234 There was some difference of opinion as to the origin of
173 this *ti*, which is often called the Arsaiir *ti* by the Todas.
773 According to one account, given to me by Kwòdrdoni people,

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
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CHAPTER VI

BUFFALO MIGRATIONS

AT certain seasons of the year it is customary that the buffaloes both of the village and the *ti* should migrate from one place to another. Sometimes the village buffaloes are accompanied by all the inhabitants of the village; sometimes the buffaloes are only accompanied by their dairyman and one or more male assistants.

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There are two chief reasons[1] for these movements of the buffaloes, of which the most urgent is the necessity for new grazing-places. During the dry season, lasting from about December to March, the pasturage around the villages where the Todas usually live becomes very scanty, and the buffaloes are taken to places where it is more abundant. Many of these places are in or near the Kundahs, where the rainfall is greater than over the rest of the hills, and others are scattered here and there about the hills in spots where, owing to favourable conditions, the ground is less parched than elsewhere. At other seasons of the year it may happen that the grazing in the neighbourhood of a village becomes exhausted, and it becomes necessary to take the buffaloes to another place.

The other chief reason for the migrations is that certain villages and dairies, formerly important and still sacred, are visited for ceremonial purposes, or out of respect to ancient custom. Some of these places, such as the villages of Piedr

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[1] The buffaloes may also move from one village to another if sickness should break out among them, but I do not know whether this would become the same ceremonial occasion as in the other kinds of migration.

234x Some of these places, such as the villages of Piedr-
221 and Kusharf, are in outlying parts of the hills, and are entirely
233 unoccupied except on the occasion of these ceremonial visits.
Another example is the ancient and sacred village of Nas-
778 miòdr, of which there now only remains a dairy, situated
788 in a grove in the middle of a valley cultivated by Badagas.
796 It is visited once a year by the *wursulir* of Kars for about a
month, and, as there is only scanty pasturage available, there
621 is little doubt that the visit to this dairy has no utilitarian
motive.

At the *ti* the same reasons hold good. Several of the *ti* herds have dairies in or near the Kundahs, to which they go during the dry months of the year, while other dairies of special sanctity are visited only for a short time in each year. The dairy of Anto is a good example of the latter case; it is in an outlying part of the hills, and should be visited for one month every year, because it is the most sacred dairy of the *ti*.

The migrations of the *ti* buffaloes are more strictly regulated than are those of the village herds, and there are definitely prescribed rules for the order in which the dairies of the *ti* shall be visited, and for the duration of the stay at each, though, as we shall see later, these rules are not always followed.

As a general rule, the more ancient and sacred the dairy to which the buffaloes are going, the more elaborate are the ceremonies on reaching the new destination.

The day of migration is called *irskidithbutnol* or *irnödrthnol*.

MIGRATIONS OF THE VILLAGE BUFFALOES

[124]
234x My account of the ceremonial accompanying the migration
from one village to another is unfortunately very incomplete.
221 The following accounts were given by Teivali men, and I
796 cannot guarantee that they hold good for both divisions and
for all clans.

When it is decided to move to a fresh village certain men are chosen to help in the removal, and are told to come on the appointed day, which must not be one of the sacred days of the village (see Chap. XVII). On the morning of this day the same

234* procedure is repeated with the *ertatmani*, which are strung on 796 a piece of bamboo and hung on another piece of bamboo which projects from the wall on the *ertat* side of the dairy. Then milk is put on the *patatmani* and buttermilk on the *ertatmani* as usual.

● [778]

FIG. 32.—THE 'NEURZÜLNKARS' OF KIUDR, BY THE SIDE OF WHICH THE 'ERTATMANI' ARE LAID.

MIGRATION OF THE TI BUFFALOES

234x 233 221 I obtained a very full account of the migration of the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* and will first give an account of the proceedings for this herd.

796 The Toda year begins during October with the ceremony of *teutütusthchi* (see Chap. XIII) and at this time the buffaloes should be standing at Mòdr, near Paikara. Soon after this ceremony, the herd goes to Anto, the most important and sacred of the *ti* pllaces. They stay here for a month and then go to Majòdr, not far from Makurti Peak, where they

234x described is performed at certain stones called *neurzülnkars*.
773 At Mòdr there are four of these stones (shown in Fig. 33), and
three of them are rounded and worn quite smooth, probably
796 by much repetition of the ceremony about to be described.

On the day following the migration each *palol* takes a *mòrkudriki*, which one fills with milk and the other with butter (*pen*, not *nei*, as when rubbed on the *kaltmokh*). The two *palol* put milk on the stones and then rub them with butter. There is no cursing and the *kaltmokh* plays no part in the ceremony. There can be little doubt that the stones are regarded as taking the place of the *kaltmokh*, for while the latter is performing his ceremony he is called *neurzutpol*, and the stones anointed in the same way are called *neurzülnkars*.

778 The ceremony with the *kaltmokh* which follows the migra-
783 tion to the dairies of Anto and Òdrtho is one of the most
extraordinary of Toda ceremonies. The leading feature of
789 the ceremony appears to be the cursing of the *kaltmokh*,
793 followed immediately by the removal of the curse. I was
wholly unable to obtain any explanation of the ceremony
796 from the Todas, but it seems probable that the *kaltmokh* is
being made responsible for any offence which may have been committed against the very sacred dairies of Anto and Òdrtho. The *kaltmokh* having been cursed, and so made responsible, the curse is then removed in order to avoid the evil consequences which would befall the boy if this were not done.

It is possible that the *kaltmokh* is chosen as the person to be made responsible merely because he is the most convenient person to act as the recipient of any evil consequences. It is, however, probable that on this day the *kaltmokh* does something which he does not do on ordinary days, and thus commits an offence which has to be expiated. On the day of migration the *kaltmokh* does, as a matter of fact, see the sacred vessels of the inner room which are ordinarily hidden from his gaze behind the screen of the dairy. He sees the *mani* in its leafy covering, and he may even see the bell itself before it is covered. He also touches some of the vessels of the outer room which he does not

778 ordinarily touch, and it may be that the cursing and other
783 features of the ceremony are intended to obviate the possible
evil consequences of these acts. At the ancient and sacred
789 dairies of Anto and Òdrtho the ceremony is still carried out
793 in its entirety, but at other dairies many of the chief features
of the ceremony have disappeared and all that remains is the
796 anointing of the *neurzülnkars*, which take the [illegible] of the
head of the *kaltmokh*.

788 When the *kaltmokh* comes into the sleeping hut on the
first night of the ceremony, my informants laid great stress
793 on the fact that the other occupants of the hut must take
796 no notice of the boy, who creeps in after the others have
taken their places on the beds, and he must go out in the
morning before they show signs of waking. It is probable that the boy had originally to sit all the night in the open air at the appointed spot, and though he is now allowed to come into the hut, no notice is taken of him because theoretically he is not there. It is quite in accordance with Toda ideas that this should be done and other instances of similar procedure will be given.

Another noteworthy feature of the ceremony is the act of giving the *kaltmokh* a larger portion of food than can possibly be consumed at one meal. This feature occurs in other Toda ceremonies, and especially in connexion with the ordination of the *palol*, to be described in the next chapter. I know nothing of the significance of this procedure.

234K At some time during the day following the arrival at the
221 new *ti mad*, the dairy is well cleansed with dried buffalo-dung.
Soon after the migration—on the following Wednesday at
796 the Nòdrs *ti* and on Sunday at the Kars and the Pan *ti*—
a special ceremony called *ponup* is performed, in which salt is given to certain sacred buffaloes, but this will be described, together with the other salt-giving ceremonies, in Chapter VIII.

The Melgars man who accompanies the procession of the Nòdrs *ti* stays at Anto till the following Wednesday; at other places he only stays till the day after the procession. The Toda way of putting this is that at Anto he stays *erdpunrs*—*i.e.*, "two *punrs*." One *punrs* is a day and its next day, so that *erdpunrs* is equal to four days. At other places the Melgars

man stays only one *punrs*—*i.e.*, he leaves the *ti mad* on the 234x
day following the migration. 221

The foregoing account applies to the Nòdrs *ti*. The
general procedure is the same at the migration of other herds, 796
but the ceremonial is, in general, less elaborate. At no other *ti* is there anything corresponding to the ceremonies in which the *kaltmokh* plays so important a part, and at no other *ti* is it absolutely necessary that a *mòrol* should take part in the procession, though, as a matter of fact, he usually also leads the way at the migrations of the Pan *ti*.

At the Kars *ti* the buffaloes pass the greater part of the 234x
year at Makars. They usually go to Neradr, where they stay 221
about a month, and then go to Kòn for the dry season,
returning to Makars in April. Sometimes they again stop at 233
Neradr on their way from Kòn to Makars. It is probable 621
that when the sacred dairy of Enòdr was still in use the 796
ceremonial was more elaborate than it is at present. In the legend of Kwoto (see Chap. IX) an account is given of a ceremonial which occurred in former times during the migration from Kòn to Enòdr, and it is possible that this persisted until Enòdr was given up as a *ti mad*.

The herds of the Pan *ti* usually migrate with those of the Kars *ti*. They stand during the greater part of the year at Kudòdr, near Makars, and go to Neradr and Kòn as the dry season approaches.

In the case of the Pan *ti*, it seems that the bells travel on the necks of buffaloes; the *mani* called Kòsi on the neck of a buffalo called Kòsi, Pongg on a buffalo called Enmars, and Keituzan on one called Kòjiu. In this procession a *mòrol* goes first, followed by the *tars palol*, the *wars palol*, and the two *kaltmokh* in order.

At the present time there are no migrations of the buffaloes
of the Kwòdrdoni *ti* or of the Nidrsi *ti*, and I have no
information about the past. At Pursas, the present dairy [778]
of the Kwòdrdoni *ti*, there is a stone called *neurzülnkars*.
I was told that nothing was done to it in connexion with the migrations of the buffaloes, but that it was rubbed with clarified butter and milk whenever the *irnörtiti* ceremony (see Chap. XIII) was performed at the *ti*.

234x I was especially told that if the candidate for the office of
783 *wursol* wishes to scratch his head during his ordination
ceremonies he must do so with a stick, but this is probably
793 a feature of all ordination rites.

In the case of the *wursol*, it seemed that there is a difference in the ceremonial according to whether the dairy is occupied or not when the new dairyman enters upon office. The foregoing account applies to the case in which the dairy is already occupied and the new dairyman replaces another, so that there is no break in the continuity of the dairy proceedings. If the dairy should be unoccupied, I was told that the candidate would have to sleep for two nights in the wood, and there would almost certainly be additional purifications, but I did not learn the exact nature of the proceedings in this case.

Though I was only told of this difference of procedure in the case of the *wursol*, it is not unlikely that there is a corresponding difference of procedure in the case of other dairies when the dairy has been unoccupied. There will certainly be a ceremony of purification of the dairy, such as takes place when the buffaloes migrate to a new village, and probably the dairy vessels will also have to be purified.

THE KUGVALIKARTMOKH OF TARADR AND THE POHKARTPOL OF KANÒDRS

234x The ordination ceremonies of these two dairymen appear
778 to be almost identical. So far as I could ascertain, the feature
which the *kugvalikartmokh* of Taradr and the *pohkartpol* of
793 Kanòdrs have in common is that they serve institutions to which
a high degree of sanctity is attached. The ritual of both dairies bears some resemblance to that of the *'ti* and, as we have already seen, the regulations for the conduct of the *pohkartpol* are, in some respects, even more stringent than those of the *palol*.

234x The *kugvalikartmokh* is ordained either on Wednesday or
793 Sunday, the *pohkartpol* on Tuesday. On the night preceding
the ordination the candidate sleeps in the wood. Seven

234x and fire transferred to the other, and from this the lamp is
793 lighted, and the *palol*, who is now *palol* of the *pürsir*, goes out to look after and milk his new charges. On this evening no food is taken, nor does the *palol* drink buttermilk as usual, and the *kaltmokh* does not blow the horn in the evening. On the following day, which is the occasion of a feast for all Todas, the usual routine is followed.

The most interesting feature of this ceremony at the Kars *ti* is that the vessels of the inner room are taken by the *palol* from the *pepkusthkars* to the *perskars*, a distance said to be about fifty yards, in exactly the same manner as that in which they are carried from one dairy to another during the migrations when the distance may be many miles.

234x The essential feature of the various ordination ceremonies
184 is purification by drinking water from certain leaves and rubbing the body with the juice of certain plants or the bark of
783 a tree mixed with water from a dairy stream or spring. The
778 ordinary dairyman uses the leaves and shoots of *muli*; the
788 dairymen of the Taradr *kugvali* and the Kanòdrs *poh* use seven kinds of leaves and rub themselves with *tudr* bark,
793 while the three grades of dairyman open only to Teivali or Melgars people not only rub with the juice of *tudr* bark, but use *tudr* leaves for the purificatory drinking.

The *palikartmokh* drinks and rubs himself seven times only, the *wursol* and *kaltmokh* seven times seven, while at various stages in his ordination the *palol* uses *tudr* bark three times seven, seven times seven, and nine times seven.

The final stage of ordination or induction is marked by touching some sacred object of the dairy. The ordinary dairyman touches one or more of the sacred vessels of the dairy; the *wursol*, *kugvalikartmokh*, and the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs touch the *mu*, a dairy vessel buried in the buffalo pen, which is dug up for the ordination ceremony. The *kaltmokh* and the *palol* touch a *tasth*, the former touching a bar of the calf enclosure and the latter one in the opening of the pen used for adult buffaloes.

According to one account, the Teivali *palikartmokh* also touches a *mu* on entrance into office, but it is very doubtful if

this is correct. Nothing was said about it at the ordination 234K
at which I was present, and I saw nothing to indicate that 184
this vessel was being used, but it is possible that the *mu* had
been dug up earlier in the day and put inside the dairy. 783

Another interesting feature of the ordination ceremonies 778
is that a dairyman of a higher grade may be taken through 788
the lower stages on his way to the higher office. Thus both
wursol and *palol* perform the purificatory ceremony with *muli*, 793
which is the chief feature of the ordination of the *palikartmokh*. There did not seem to be any stage in the ordination of the *palol* when he could be said to be a *wursol*, though the ceremonies of Monday evening and Tuesday are very much like those of the *wursol*, the chief difference being in the exact number of times that the *tudr* purification is performed.

234x of the offences against the dairy of which a list is given on
754 p. 295.
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If delay were said to be due to the first cause, the sorcerer would be invited to the village, entertained with food, and induced to remove his spell; if to the second cause, the dairyman would have to perform the *irnörtiti* or similar ceremony; but there was never any question of making new *pep*, the necessity for this ceremony being entirely dependent on the condition of the buried dairy vessel.

THE IRPALVUSTHI CEREMONY

234x The ceremony of *irpalvusthi* (buffalo milk he milks) is per-
796 formed about the fifteenth day after the birth of a calf.
● [778] It only takes place when one of the sacred buffaloes has calved, and is not performed in ordinary villages for *putiir*, nor at the *ti* for *punir*. It is performed after the birth of both male and female calves. The ceremony is carried out in the same fashion at the *wursuli*, the *kudrpali* and the *tarvali*, but has different features at the *kugvali* of Taradr and at the *ti*.

There are special days for the ceremony. At the *tarvali*, it must be performed on Sunday, Wednesday, or Saturday; at the *kudrpali* and *wursuli*, on Sunday or Wednesday; at the *kugvali*, on Saturday. The ceremony is performed at the *ti*, but I omitted to obtain any account of the proceedings at this grade of dairy.

When this ceremony is held at the village of Kuudr, a man from Ódr belonging to the Nodrsol must attend, and similarly a man from Kuudr must be present when the ceremony is performed at Kuudr, this regulation being the result of certain events in the histories of the buffaloes of these places (see p. 647).

At each of the three kinds of dairy which follow the same procedure, the chief part is taken by the dairyman. At the *wursuli*, the *wursol* officiates, and at the *kudrpali* and *tarvali*, the *palikartmokh*.

The first appropriate occasion after the fifteenth day from the birth of the calf is appointed and the dairy is purified with

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a tiger went after them. When they reached a certain hill, the hill divided into two and the buffaloes went between the two parts, but still the tiger followed them. Then the buffaloes came to Kwaradr and went into the pen, and the tiger also went into the pen. When the buffaloes saw that the tiger had come into the pen, they kicked it and it died. Then one of the buffaloes said to the other, "You stay here in the pen; I am going to Tarsòdr." Then the monsoon drove on this buffalo to Tarsòdr, which is one of the dairies of the Pan *ti*. The descendants of the buffalo which stayed in the pen are the *pasthir* of Kwaradr and the descendants of the other are among the buffaloes of the Pan *ti*.

Kulinkars was connected with the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony (see Chap. XIII) and was the *mokhthodvaiol* or paramour of Nòtirzi. His relation to Nòtirzi is said to have been the origin of the *mokhthoditi* custom (see Chap. XXII), but I was not able to obtain any detailed account of this part of the history of the god.

Kulinkars has a son called Teikhidap, who lives on Makurti Peak, and the proper Toda name for this hill is Teikhidap.

NÒTIRZI

I have no details of the history of this female deity. She is the *nòdrodchi* of the two important clans of Melgars and Kuudr, and lives on the hill now known as Snowdon, the Toda name of the hill being the same as that of the goddess. [778] This hill is especially sacred, and any Toda who visits it has to salute with hand to forehead (*kaimukhti*) in all directions. Like her *mokhthodvaiol*, Kulinkars, Nòtirzi is connected with the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony. She is said to have had a son called Tikuteithi or Teukuteithi. It is possible that this is the same as Teikuteidi, who appears in the story of Kwoten (see p. 193), but they are more probably two different deities.

A stone which is said to have been thrown by this goddess from her hill is shown close to the village of Pòln, under the tree known to English visitors to the Nilgiris as the 'umbrella tree.'

234x 192 788 the ordinary words in the reduplication of part of the name, *túdrpali* becoming *palitûdrpali* and *kiznîr* becoming *nîrkiznîr*.

PRAYER OF KIUDR

234x 192 778 788 The following are the *kwarzam* of the prayer used at Kiudr, which is one of the most sacred of Toda villages.

	Kwarzam of
Kilvdh	the dairy at Kiudr.
kerâni	one of the *patatmani* of Kiudr.
mêdrâni	the other *patatmani*.
pongg	one of the *ertatmani*.
nongg	another *ertatmani*.
pelteirzi	the lamp of the dairy.
írtîrzi	also the lamp.
kînmûv	the way by which the dairyman goes from the dairy to milk; the *punetkalvol*.
nirtâkk	the dairy stream.
nirtirshki	also the dairy stream.
keitu	the buffalo-pen.
tülivaners	the posts at the entrance of the buffalo-pen
tashtpâliv	the bars of the entrance of the pen.
kadrtûlikkadr	the calf enclosure.
arkatchar	the household stream.
inerti	also the household stream.
ârsvitchkârs	the house (*ars*) at Kiudr.
eivitchâv	also the house.
nersâdrvel	the milking place.
keikûtr	the stream which runs between the house and the dairy (see 307).
kwoteiners *kwelthipushol* *etamûdri* *eraikin* *kârmus* *pârvakûdr*	all of Kiudr village.
arspem	slope of hill (*pem*) near Kiudr.

The special features of the Kiudr prayer are the large number of *kwarzam* of the village and the inclusion of the *kwarzam* of the house and household stream. The prayer of Kiudr is the only Toda prayer in which either the house or household stream is mentioned, and this fact is in accordance with the high degree of sanctity which has become attached to this village. It will be noticed also that

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the buffaloes are not mentioned, and that nearly all the clauses of the prayer apply to the buildings and their contents or to other parts of the village or to the village itself. Only the last *kwarzam* of the prayer applies to a place not actually in the village itself, and I could not ascertain why this place was so favoured. With this exception, the Kiudr prayer is one in which the *kwarzam* are entirely limited to those of the village and the dairy.

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It will be remembered that when the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* migrate from Mòdr to Anto they pass by the village of Kiudr, and that the occasion is observed in various ways by the people of the village (see p. 135). I was told that certain *kwarzam* referring to this occasion are used in the Kiudr prayer. According to one man, these *kwarzam* are always recited in the prayer before those which have been already given, but others denied that they were so used. It is possible that these *kwarzam* are only said on special occasions, such as the day of migration, or it may be that they were formerly used, but are now being forgotten.

These *kwarzam* are as follow:

emer pògit nòdr	*ti* buffaloes, come near country.
enken pògit nòdr	bell of *wars* dairy, come near country.
eupalol pògit nòdr	god *palol*, come near country.
eutuni pògit nòdr	god *tuni*, come near country.
eitòt pògit nòdr	hair done up, come near country (this has reference to the practice of tying the hair which is followed by the *palol* when engaged at his sacred work (p. 92).
Teigun ürpit nòdr	horn (of *warsir*) blow country.
Kiudkudr ürpit nòdr	horn (of *tiir*) blow country.

Then follow the *kwarzam* already given.

These *kwarzam* are of a different form from those used in the general form of prayer, and the various persons or objects mentioned are referred to either by their usual names or by slight modifications of them, as in *eupalol* or *euvalol* and *eutuni*. There seemed to be no doubt that these words were abbreviations of *teupalol* and *teutuni*, the omission of an initial *t* being not uncommon in the Toda language. Thus in this prayer the dairyman is called "god *palol*," and his garment "god *tuni*."

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Atioto	Atioto (see p. 210).	
Kurindoi teu	Kurindo (see p. 192).	
Konteu	Konteu or Konto (see p. 211).	
Anteu	Anto (see p. 188).	
Pòrzo	Pòrzo	see p. 211.
Kòdrtho	Kòdrtho	
Kârzo	Karzo	
Teikhunteu	Teikhun	
mänpöh	Kanòdrs village.	
mutirshpöh	ditto.	
tânortü	the pen.	
kânêr	the sun ? (see p. 206).	
kuteikurs	the stone chain used by Kwoto (see p. 207).	
aners	Kuzhu village.	
tütashki	Pishkwosht village.	

This prayer is quite unlike those of the other village dairies and was much more like that of a *ti* dairy. As we have seen, the *poh* of Kanòdrs resembles a *ti* dairy both in the elaborateness of its ritual and in the high degree of sanctity of its dairyman, and this resemblance is now seen to extend to the prayer used in the dairy ritual. [778]

Other dairies of the Tartharol which have an especial degree of sanctity are the *kugvali* of Taradr and the conical dairy of Nòdrs. I made great endeavours to obtain the prayers used in these places, but without success.

THE TI PRAYER

The prayers offered at the *ti* dairies are as a general rule longer and more complex than those of the ordinary village dairy. The latter portion of the prayer, or the prayer proper, does not seem to differ from that of the ordinary dairy, the differences being in the *kwarzam* recited at the beginning. The different dairies of the same *ti* may have different prayers; thus, at the Nòdrs *ti* there is a special prayer for the dairy at Anto which is longer and more complicated than that used at Mòdr, but it is probable that this is exceptional and is owing to the great antiquity and sanctity of Anto. The other dairies of this *ti* probably use much the same prayer as at Mòdr, though there may be certain slight modifications at each.

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182 771 783 Again, the ceremonies connected with entrance upon any dairy office are intended to purify the candidate and make him fit to see and touch and use the sacred objects.

788 776 The purpose of some of the other ceremonies is less obvious. The *irpalvusthi* ceremony seems to be of the nature of a thanksgiving, one of its most important features being a feast, but in this feast people may partake of the milk of sacred buffaloes, which is not ordinarily used by them, and there is a suggestive resemblance to those religious ceremonies in which communion is held with the divine by eating or drinking the divine.

The salt-giving ceremonies seem to point to a time when salt was difficult to procure. According to the Todas the object of these ceremonies is to ensure a plentiful supply of milk. There is a belief that salt is beneficial to the buffaloes, and the occasions on which the salt is given have become religious ceremonies which at the *ponup* of the *ti* have reached a high degree of elaboration with very special relations to the chief gods of the dairy. The ceremonies of making new *pep* are especially mysterious, and I will reserve some speculations as to the general idea underlying them till later (see p. 242).

COMPARISON OF THE PROCEDURE OF DIFFERENT DAIRIES

234 783 One of the most striking features of the ritual in all its branches is its increasing elaboration and complexity from the lowest to the highest grade of dairy.

788 778 One of the details of the ritual which runs through the whole series of dairies is the separation between the vessels and objects which come into contact with the buffaloes or their milk, and those which come into contact with the outside world, or with the products of the churning which may go to the outside world.

In the proceedings with the milk of the ordinary buffaloes in the huts where the people live, there is, so far as I know, no distinction of this kind.

In the lowest grade of dairy we already meet with the

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separation. All the vessels are kept in the same room, but in different parts of the room, the *patatmar* and the *ertatmar*, and this distinction between the two sets of objects is kept up in the migration ceremonies where they are carried by different men.

There are no striking differences in this respect between the lower grades of dairy, whether *tarvali*, *kudrpali*, or *wursuli*; in all, the two sets of vessels are separated, but no strict measures are taken to prevent a vessel of the *patatmar* from coming into contact with a vessel of the *ertatmar* during the dairy operations. It is only on reaching the *kugvali* of Taradr that we find an intermediate vessel, the *kuvun*, used to transfer substances from a vessel of the more sacred to one of the less sacred kind, and to prevent possible contamination of the former by the latter.

It is in the *ti* dairy that these precautions reach their highest degree of development. Here the two sets of vessels are kept in different rooms, separated by a screen, and the dairy products are never transferred directly from a vessel of one kind to a vessel of the other, but always by means of an intermediate vessel. The butter and buttermilk produced by the churning operations in the inner room are transferred to the vessels of the outer room by means of the *idrkwoi*, which is kept on the dividing line between the two compartments. Similarly the vessels into which the butter and buttermilk are received are never allowed to come into direct contact with objects from the outside world, but their contents are transferred to vessels used outside the dairy by means of intermediate vessels, the *uppun* or the *mörpun*.

In the migrations of the *ti* buffaloes this strict separation between the two kinds of vessel is still kept up. The things of the inner room are carried by the *palol* himself, while the things of the outer room are carried by others. The *idrkwoi*, though carried by the *palol* on the same staff as the things of the inner room, is kept apart from the rest, and is not allowed to touch them.

The fires of the *ti* dairy furnish another interesting example of the principle by which sacred objects are prevented from coming directly into relation with objects which may have

234 778 788 783 been contaminated by contact with the outside world. The lamp is not lighted directly from the *tòratthwaskal*, which is probably sometimes touched by the *kaltmokh*, but fire is transferred from this fireplace to the *pelkkatitthwaskal*, from which the lamp is lighted. Here, again, the use of an intermediary object is limited to the *ti* dairy.

[437] The principle of management by which the *palol* prevents the contamination of the sacred by the profane in the dairy is adopted by him in other ways. Whenever I paid any money to the *palol* at Mòdr, I placed it on a stone from which it was taken by the *kaltmokh* and handed to the *palol*. A similar procedure is generally adopted whenever anything is brought to, or taken from, a *ti* dairy. The *kaltmokh* in the above instance acts as the intermediate link between the *palol* and the unclean.

In the ordinary procedure of the village dairy, except at the *kugvali* of Taradr, no example occurs of this use of intermediate links, but there is such an example during the ordination of the *wursol*. When the *palikartmokh* gives the candidate milk from the *ertatpun* (p. 149), he does not pour it directly into the leaf-cup from which the candidate drinks, but first pours it into another leaf-cup and then from that into the cup used by the candidate.

Other features of the ritual in which there are differences in different grades of dairy are in the ceremonial touching of dairy vessels, in the avoidance of turning the back towards the contents of the dairy, in lamp-lighting, in the ritual connected with the bell, and in the frequency with which the prayer of the dairy is recited.

At the *tarvali* and *kudrpali*, the dairyman touches ceremonially the *majpariv* and the *patat* at the beginning of the afternoon churning, while at the *wursuli* this is done both morning and afternoon. At the *ti*, however, this ceremonial touching does not occur, or, at any rate, I failed to obtain any account of its performance.

The method of carrying out the dairy procedure *kabkaditi*, in which the back is never turned on the sacred vessels of the dairy, is not followed in the *tarvali*, except at the *irpalvusthi* ceremony. I have no record of it in the *kudrpali*, except on

234 the same occasion, and it is only followed regularly in certain
778 dairies of the *wursuli* grade, viz., Nòdrs, Nasmiòdr, Òdr, and
783 Kozhtudi. The first has a conical dairy, and Nasmiòdr and
Òdr are especially ancient and sacred places. At the *kugvali*
788 and the *ti* dairy, on the other hand, the dairy ceremonial
is always performed *kabkaditi*. At one ceremony, that of
irpalvusthi, the work of the dairy is performed *kabkaditi*
in every dairy of whatever grade.

The lamp-lighting is another feature which becomes more frequent and more ceremonial in the higher grades of dairy. In all the village dairies, including the *kugvali* of Taradr,[1] the lamp is only lighted ceremonially at the afternoon churning, the lighting being made the occasion of prayer. If the morning is dark, the lamp may be lighted, but it is clear that this is not done ceremonially, and the lighting is not accompanied by prayer. At the *ti* we have already seen that the lamp is lighted in a more ceremonial manner and in the morning as well as in the afternoon.

Some of the details of the ritual are definitely associated with the *mani*, and since the presence of a *mani* implies a higher grade of dairy, this leads to an increase in the elaboration of the ritual. The *mani* is treated in much the same way in all the grades of dairy which possess this sacred object.

Another feature in which the increasing sanctity of the dairy is shown is the frequency with which prayer is offered. At all the village dairies the dairyman only prays at the afternoon ceremonial when lighting the lamp, and when shutting up the buffaloes in their pen for the night. As already mentioned, there is a definite association between prayer and the ceremonial lamp-lighting.

234 In the *ti* dairy, prayer is offered both morning and evening;
778 at the morning ceremonial twice and in the afternoon
three times. On both occasions the first prayer begins when
788 the lamp is being lighted and is continued while the *palol*
knocks on one of the *persin* with the *persinkudriki*. The
second prayer in each case is offered at the conclusion of the
milking, and the third prayer of the afternoon corresponds to

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[1] I am doubtful about this point at the *poh* of Kanòdrs.

234 the second prayer of the village dairy, being offered when
778 shutting up the buffaloes for the night.

The increasing sanctity of the different grades of dairy
788 is shown very clearly by the increasing stringency in the rules
784 of conduct of the dairyman. The *tarvalikartmokh* may sleep
in the living hut on any night in the week, and there are no
793 restrictions on his intercourse with women. The *kudrpalikartmokh* may only sleep in the hut on Sundays, Wednesdays and Saturdays, and is prohibited from intercourse with Teivali women. The *wursol* is limited to two nights, Sunday and Wednesday, and, though himself a Teivali man, is prohibited from intercourse with Teivali women. The *kugvalikartmokh* has similar restrictions, but the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs must avoid women altogether, and this is almost certainly the case with the *palol* also.

[262] The *tarvalikartmokh* takes his buttermilk and food without any ceremony. The *kudrpalikartmokh* must hold his food in his hands throughout his meal and must not put it on the ground.

In the case of the *wursol* we meet first with the ceremonial drinking of buttermilk, which must in this case be poured into the leaf-cup from the vessel called *ertatpun*. The *kugvalikartmokh* drinks buttermilk sitting on the seat outside his dairy and pours from the *ertatpun*, drinking three times only and saying "*On*" each time.

The *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs has to take his food with very special precautions. He sits on the wall of his dairy and his hand must not touch his mouth nor the leaf-cup his lips. At the *ti* the drinking of buttermilk has become a definite ceremony in which the *kaltmokh* pours out drink for the *palol* with prescribed formulæ, but, strangely enough, the *palol* does not suffer from the same restrictions against touching his mouth as the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs, though the latter holds an office which in most ways is distinctly less sacred than that of the *palol*.

234 The clothing of each grade is also regulated. Perhaps the
most important feature here is the use of the garments called
292 *tuni*. These are made of dark grey cloth of a quite different
793 kind from that of the ordinary clothes worn by the Todas.
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The garments are procured from the Badagas, and cloth 234
of the same kind, called *ün*, is used to enwrap the corpse in the
funeral ceremonies. It is mentioned as the ordinary clothing 292
of a woman in the legend of Kwoten, and is almost certainly 793
the ancient clothing of the Todas still persisting in ceremonial 178
in connexion with the dead and in the dairy ritual.

The *tuni* is only worn by the higher grades of the dairyman-priesthood and by the *palikartmokh* of the Teivaliol. The *palol* wears *tuni* only, both his loin-cloth and his mantle being of this material. The *kaltmokh* has no need for a *tuni*, for when he is engaged in his work at the *ti* he has to be naked, and when away from the *ti* and in the sleeping hut he wears a small piece of *tuni*, the *petuni*, in his girdle, the piece of cloth marking the difference between the full *kaltmokh* and the *perkursol*.

The *wursol*, the *kugvalikartmokh*, and the Teivali *palikartmokh* only wear the *tuni* when actually engaged in the dairy work and leave it inside the dairy at other times. I am doubtful whether the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs resembles the *palol* or the lower grades in this respect.

Although the *palikartmokh* of the *tarvali* and the *kudrpali* never wear the *tuni*, a small piece of this cloth is put in the girdle during the ordination ceremonies, and this may be a relic of a time when every dairyman wore the *tuni*.[1] In the secret language (see Chap. XXV) the word *petuni* is used in one place as the equivalent of 'uniform,' and this seems to indicate that the *petuni* is regarded as the badge of a dairyman.

The use of the leaves and bark of the sacred *tudr* tree is 234
another feature which distinguishes different dairies. In the 778
tarvali it is, so far as I know, not used at all. In the *kudrpali* 788
it is only used in the *pepeirthti* ceremony. The *wursol* uses
tudr in his ordination ceremonies, but not in the ordinary
ritual of his dairy, nor is it used in the daily ritual of the *ti*
dairy, though largely used in the purification of the dairy and
of the dairy vessels, and in the ordination ceremonies of the
palol.

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[1] It is in favour of this supposition that in the legend Kwoten wore the *tuni* when acting as *palikartmokh* although he was one of the Tartharol.

234 The use of *tudr* in the ordination ceremonies is only allowed
778 to the members of the Teivali division and of the Melgars
788 clan of the Tartharol.

Special kinds of dairy or special dairies may have features peculiar to themselves; thus the *pepeirthti* ceremony, in which the dairyman beats on the *patat* with a piece of *tudr* bark, is only performed at the *kudrpali*; the prescription of nakedness when milking is confined to the *kudrpalikartmokh*; the special method of wearing the *putkuli* open in front when going to the buffaloes is only practised by the *wursol*, and the method of taking food sitting on the wall of the dairy and throwing the food into the mouth is peculiar to the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs.

One feature of interest in the dairy organisation is the existence of different names at different dairies for the dairy products, and for the various objects used at the dairy or in connexion with the dairy ceremonies. The chief differences are found on comparing the village dairy with the *ti*, nearly every object having a different name in the two places, though occasionally a peculiarity of nomenclature may be confined to one dairy, as at Kanòdrs, where milk is called *persin*, the name of the churning vessel of the *ti*. As a general rule it seems that the name used in the village dairy is the same as that in ordinary use; thus, the dairy vessels used in the house for the milk of the ordinary buffaloes are known by the same names as those of the village dairy.

192 The use of special names in the more sacred dairies is
234 probably connected with their high degree of sanctity. The
names of the dairy vessels of the village are in common use,
778 and it would doubtless seem sacrilegious that the names of
788 the vessels of the *ti* should be thus in everyone's mouth.
Consequently nearly every object used in the ceremonial of the *ti* dairy has a special name, and in the ordinary life of the Todas these words are probably never uttered.

One striking feature of the dairy ritual is the use of the syllable *On*. With one exception (p. 177) this word is always uttered thrice, and it seems to be especially connected with the act of putting curds or milk on the bells. It has a suggestive resemblance to the mystical syllable *Om* of the Hindus. It is

also possible that it may be a form of the name of the god Ön, [192]
or, again, it may be a corruption of the word *mani*, of which 234
the initial letter has been dropped, a process of which other 778
examples have been given.

It is doubtful how much significance is attached to the 788
right and left sides in the dairy ritual. There is no doubt that in the most sacred acts of the ritual, such as saluting the buffaloes and the sun, or feeding the bell, it is the right hand which is used. This preference of the right hand is emphasised by the action of the *palol* in washing out his mouth, when he takes the water into his mouth from the left hand, because it is his right hand which has most to do with the sacred objects. In the migration ceremonies the dairy vessels are carried on the left shoulder, but at the *ti* the choice of this shoulder by the *palol* is obviously due to the fact that either the *mani* or churning-stick is carried in the right hand, and in other cases it is probable that the choice of the left shoulder is due to the necessity of leaving the right hand free. When the candidate drinks in the ordination ceremonies he holds the cup in the right hand, and this hand certainly has the preference throughout the dairy ritual. On the other hand, the *petuni* is worn on the left side of the waist-string, both by the *kaltmokh*, as a sign of his full rank, and by the *palikartmokh* during his ordination ceremonies.

In the ordinary dairy the side which is on the right hand in entering seems to be the more sacred, and the platform on this side is the *meitün* or superior bed. In the *ti* dairy, on the other hand, there was some doubt as to the more sacred side. At Mòdr it seemed that the *mani* is on the left hand side of the *palol* as he is performing his duties, but it is doubtful whether this is so at other places, and it may be that my account of the Mòdr dairy is wrong in this respect.

THE SANCTITY OF MILK 234

The different degrees of sanctity attaching to the different 778
dairies are associated with differences in the rules regulating 272
the use of milk, and these rules seem to show clearly that 784

234 the milk of buffaloes belonging to the more sacred dairies has
778 a higher degree of sanctity than that churned in the lower
272 grades.

The milk of ordinary buffaloes may be drunk by anyone,
784 man, woman, or child. The Todas do not ordinarily sell
[432] milk, but if they do so, they may only use the milk of [illegible]ary buffaloes for this purpose. I have a note that anyone may also drink the milk of buffaloes belonging to the *tarvali*, but I suspect that this only applies to men who must drink it at the dairy.

The milk of the *kudrpali* may only be drunk by the *kudrpalikartmokh* himself. It is believed that any other person or animal who should drink milk from this dairy would die.

At the *wursuli* milk may be given to men at the dairy, but it must be mixed with buttermilk. At the *kugvali* of Taradr the milk of the *kugvalir* themselves is not drunk by anyone, the dairyman having certain ordinary buffaloes for his own use, and this is also the case at the *ti*. I believe that not even the *palol* would drink the milk of the *persinir*, the sacred buffaloes of the *ti*.

There is one exception to the rule that ordinary people may not use the milk of the sacred buffaloes of the village dairies (except in the form of butter and buttermilk). At the *irpalvusthi* ceremony at all the village dairies, including the *kugvali*, food is prepared with the milk of one of the sacred animals and this food is given to the people of the clan to which the dairy belongs and also to members of other clans.

In the case of the *wursuli*, I was especially told that this is the only occasion on which the milk of *wursulir* is used by people in general. At the *kugvali*, people of other clans are only given this food on the second day of the proceedings, and the distribution of the food is preceded by a ceremony in which some of the food is thrown into the fire. The milk used on this occasion is the milk of the buffalo which has recently calved, the ceremony being in celebration of this event.

At the *wursuli* it is noteworthy that the food is cooked by the *wursol* himself, the ceremony of *irpalvusthi* being the

only occasion on which a dairyman of this grade prepares 234
food. Thus, when the milk of the *wursulir* is used ceremoni- 272
ally as a food by ordinary people, the food is prepared by the
dairyman-priest. One feature of the *irpalvusthi* ceremony is 778
that the work is performed *kabkaditi* in every dairy, and it is 784
possible that this sign of increased respect is intended to counteract the desecration which is about to take place in the use of the milk by the profane. As I have already pointed out, the *irpalvusthi* ceremony has a strong resemblance to a sacrificial feast, in which people partake of the sacred animal, but in this case it is the milk of the animal and not the animal itself which is taken.

A further indication of the sanctity of milk is given in the prohibition against the drinking of milk by a widower or widow during a period which, as we shall see later, may extend to many months.

The restrictions on the use of the milk of the sacred [178]
animals have the general characters associated with taboos, and the whole daily ritual of the dairy would seem to be designed to remove the taboo. It is possible that at one time the milk of the sacred buffaloes was not used at all, and that these animals only suckled their calves. If then the Todas had begun to milk the sacred buffaloes, it is natural that the milking and churning should have been accompanied by ritual designed to counteract the evils to be expected from the profanation of the sacred substance and the breaking of the taboo. In certain circumstances even now the Todas do not milk their sacred buffaloes, but allow them to suckle their calves only. If a *ti* dairy, or even one of a lower grade, has no dairyman, the buffaloes are not milked, though they are still tended by some unsanctified person and are kept ready to take their part in the dairy ritual if a dairyman should again be appointed.

SPECIAL DAIRY CUSTOMS

The general method of treating the milk in the dairy 171
procedure seems to be the same as that generally followed 234
in India and other hot countries. The milk is allowed to

171 coagulate and the curd is churned. The butter so obtained
234 differs from that of European countries in containing the
proteid as well as the fat constituents of milk. This butter
is then clarified, but in this respect there is an important
difference between the ordinary Hindu procedure and that of
the Todas. The usual Hindu method is to heat slowly over
[262] a fire without the addition of any other substance. The
Todas add grain or rice to the butter before clarification, and
this sinks to the bottom of the vessel and forms a substance
called by the Todas *al*, which is one of their chief foods.
This deposit of grain or rice will carry down with it some,
possibly all, of the proteid constituents, and the *al* will, therefore,
be a nourishing food.

The only other detail in which the Toda procedure is peculiar[1] is in the addition of buttermilk from a previous churning to the newly-drawn milk, the buttermilk or *pep* being put into the vessel before milking. This addition probably hastens the process of coagulation, but its chief interest is derived from the fact that it has become the nucleus of some of the most interesting features of the dairy ceremonial.

234 This addition of buttermilk seems to be regarded as forming
415 a thread of continuity in the dairy ritual, and the ceremony of
pepkaricha, or making new *pep*, is held whenever this con-
778 tinuity is broken. The *pep* is connected with a dairy vessel
788 of the kind called *mu*, which is buried in the buffalo pen, and
if any evil befalls the *mu*, it is held to be a cause for making
new *pep*—*i.e.*, the usual course of the dairy procedure will be
interrupted, in some cases for months.

The buried dairy vessel seems to be linked in some mysterious way with the fortunes of the dairy, and especially with the buttermilk which forms the element of continuity in the dairy procedure. The buried dairy vessel, or *mu*, is not one which is now generally used to hold buttermilk. There are two kinds of *mu* in the dairy, one which contains the butter added during the churning, while the other is used,

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[1] It is an Indian practice to add sour buttermilk to the milk to promote coagulation, but this is usually done after heating the milk. It is possible that in some parts of India it may be added to the milk before or immediately after it is drawn.

partly as a receptacle for the milk which is about to be 234
churned, and partly to fetch water from the stream. It is 415
highly probable that there was at one time a third *mu* in the 778
dairy, which was a receptacle for the buttermilk added before 788
milking.

At the especially sacred dairy of Kanòdrs, where ancient procedure is likely to have lingered, the buried *mu* is still used as a receptacle for buttermilk. When this dairy is unoccupied, a certain amount of buttermilk is kept in the buried *mu*, and when the dairy is again occupied, this buttermilk is used to add to the milk. In this case the continuity of the dairy procedure is directly kept up by means of the buried vessel, and this procedure of the Kanòdrs dairy is strongly in favour of the view that the buried vessel was formerly a receptacle for the *pep*.

There are other indications that the *mu* is the most sacred of the dairy vessels. It is this vessel which is touched by the *wursol* the *kugvalikartmokh* of Taradr and the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs, as the final act which gives them their full status at the ordination ceremonies, and we shall see later that in the funeral ceremonies at Taradr a temporary building is made to represent a dairy by placing in its inner room a *mu*. In this last case, it would seem that the *mu* is regarded as the emblem of the dairy, and that placing a *mu* in the inner room of the temporary building makes it a dairy.

The representative of the *mu* at the *ti* dairy is the *peptòrsum*, but it does not seem that this vessel is specially distinguished from the rest, and it does not appear to have the sanctity and importance which attaches to this kind of vessel at the village dairy.

There seem to be two chief possibilities in explaining the existence of the buried *mu*. It may be that it was at one time the custom to bury the *pep* while the village was unoccupied, and that this custom now only persists at Kanòdrs, the *mu* at other places being no longer used for this purpose, though it has continued to be of ceremonial importance. The other possibility is that, as the *pep* acquired increased importance in the dairy ritual, the sanctity of the buttermilk was transferred to the vessel which contained it, and the

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sanctity of the vessel became so great that it was not thought right to leave it exposed to the dangers it might incur in the dairy, especially in the various migrations, and it was therefore buried in the buffalo pen of the chief village of the clan. It is probable that the custom arose in the way suggested by the procedure of the Kanòdrs dairy, but that the full development of the custom has been largely due to the belief in its special sanctity.

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The obscure observance of having a ball of food larger than can be eaten at one sitting occurs twice in the various dairy ceremonials. It is a feature of the ceremonies which the *kaltmokh* has to undergo on the day after the migration of the Nòdrs *ti* to Anto, and the superabundant portion of food has also to be eaten by the candidate for the office of *palol* in the preliminary ceremony called *tesherst*. In each case the food is of the ceremonial kind called *ashkkartpimi*. I can offer no suggestions as to the meaning of the observance, nor do I know of any parallel for it.

PURITY AND IMPURITY

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The idea of ceremonial purity is one running through the whole of the dairy rites. Many of the details of the ritual, the purification of new vessels and of dairies revisited after a period of disuse, the ordination ceremonies of the dairyman, the elaborate ceremonies accompanying the making of new *pep*, all show a very deeply engrained idea that men and things have in themselves some degree of impurity, and that in order to be made fit for the service of the gods, they must be purified and sanctified by appropriate ceremonies.

As regards man two grades of impurity are recognised : (i.) the impurity of the ordinary man, which is perhaps an absence of ceremonial purity rather than actual impurity ; and (ii.) the special impurity which is the result of certain events and especially of those accompanying birth and death.

The impurity of the ordinary man does not prevent him from visiting the dairies of the lower grade, but it prohibits him from taking any part whatever in the actual dairy operations. With certain exceptions, he is rigorously excluded

234 be mentioned is that the emblems of womanhood, the
784 pounder, sieve, and broom, may be removed from the hut
562 while the dairyman is present, though the women themselves
remain.

During certain dairy ceremonials, women must leave the village altogether, and during the passage of the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* near the village of Kiudr, the women leave the village, taking with them the pounder, sieve, and broom.

Although women are thus excluded from all participation in the dairy ceremonial, we shall see later (Chapter XIV) that an artificial dairy plays a part in some of the ceremonies connected with pregnancy and childbirth.

HISTORY OF THE DAIRY

173 The Todas can give very little information which throws
234 any light on the development of this complex organisation of
the dairy with its elaborate ritual. According to tradition,
778 the most sacred dairies, and especially that of the Nòdrs *ti*,
date back to the time when the gods were active on earth and
were themselves dairymen.

Beyond the belief that buffaloes of different kinds were assigned to the different clans by Teikirzi, I could obtain no account of beliefs about the origin or growth of the other grades of dairy. One fact as to the past which seemed clear was that *ti* dairies were at one time more numerous than at present, and several places now possessing village dairies of the ordinary kind are said to have been at one time the seats of *ti* dairies. Thus it is believed that Kiudr was formerly a *ti* place, and the old weatherworn stones shown in Figs. 3 and 32, which are still called *neurzülnkars*, seem to provide evidence that tradition is here correct. The village of Teidr is said to have been at one time a *ti*, and here again two stones called *neurzülnkars* are to be seen about a quarter of a mile from the village.

There is another feature of the Kiudr dairy which suggests that it may at one time have been a *ti* dairy. It contains six bells called *mani*, which clearly differ in nature from the *mani* of the other village dairies, especially in the fact that they

are not used at funerals. They are also distinguished as 173
patatmani and *ertatmani*, a distinction not met with in any 234
other village dairy. It seems probable that they are the 778
representatives of the two kinds of bells of a *ti*, the *mani* proper and the *kudrsmani*. The *ertatmani* of Kiudr are 'fed' with buttermilk, a procedure not followed, so far as I know, in any other dairy, but it may be that this is a feature of the procedure of the *ti* dairy which escaped me. Certainly the most likely explanation of the existence of these bells at Kiudr is that they are survivals of its former position as a *ti* dairy.

The villages of Kiudr and Teidr both belong to the Teivaliol, and this raises the question whether this division of the Todas may not have possessed *ti* herds and *ti* dairies of their own at one time, and may not always have had to be content with providing dairymen for institutions belonging to the Tartharol. No information could be given on this point, but it seems unlikely that dairies and places belonging to a Tarthar clan should have been handed over to the Teivaliol when they were no longer used as *ti* dairies and *ti* places.

Certain Tarthar villages are also said to have had at one time *ti* dairies, especially the sacred places of Nòdrs and Òdr. This probably means that there is a tradition that the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* were at one time kept at these places which, as we have seen, are still visited by the *palol* during his ordination ceremonies.

The process of extinction of *ti* institutions can be seen 178
in progress at the present time. The Nidrsi *ti* is not now 234
in working order; there has been no *palol* for some years and its dairies are unoccupied. It is said that a *palol* would have to be appointed temporarily if it was desired to perform the second funeral ceremonies of a Nidrsi man, but in the present condition of the Nidrsiol, it seems to me not at all unlikely, either that the rule will be disregarded, or that the second funeral ceremonies will not be performed, and that the Nidrsi *ti* will become absolutely extinct, possibly dragging down
another institution into extinction with it. 177

The Kwòdrdoni *ti* is now only active for a short time once 178
every year in order to satisfy a ceremonial requirement of the 234

712 that the ceremony is performed at the Nòdrs *ti* in October. Fifteen days later it is performed at the other *ti mad* and at
796 the chief village of each clan. In addition to these annual
621 celebrations the sacrifice is performed on two other occasions
234 at the *ti*, while at a village it may be performed whenever the people of the village have a suitable animal.

[778] The place at which the sacrifice is performed¹ is called the *erkar*, and at Karia, where I witnessed the ceremony, the *erkar* is in a wood nearly half a mile from the village at a spot where it is very unlikely that the proceedings would be disturbed by chance visitors. It seems that there is not only a special *erkar* for each *ti* and for each clan, but that each village has also its appointed place.

The ceremony is performed on appointed days, different for each *ti* and clan. In the case of the Kuudrol, these are Sunday, Wednesday, and Thursday, and the ceremony which I witnessed at Karia, a village of this clan, took place on a Sunday. The chief officiator at the sacrifice at an ordinary
[793] village is the *palikartmokh* of the village, who must, however, for this occasion be of the same clan as those who are celebrating the sacrifice.

On the day arranged for the ceremony at Karia the *palikartmokh* was ill, and as none of the other inhabitants of Karia was able to undertake the office, an elderly man, Punatvan (53), had to be fetched from another village. On his arrival he had first to go through the ordination ceremonies for the office of *palikartmokh*, a lucky chance which gave me the only opportunity I had during my visit of observing these proceedings.

813 At the *erkar* wood for the fire is collected, and over small firewood the people place several logs about three feet
372 in length, so that the fire is of an oblong form. The firewood
782 must be of one or both of the kinds called *main* and *kiül*.
796 While some of those present are making the fire, others will be fashioning sharply pointed stakes of wood on which the parts of the calf are to be impaled. These sticks are called *ko*, and must be made of one of the following four kinds of wood: *avelashki*, *harkeboi*, *kwadiki*, or *pohvet*. It was said that exactly fifty of these *ko* must be provided.

1 [The sacrifice of a young male calf -- the Erkumptthpimi Ceremony -- Analyst]

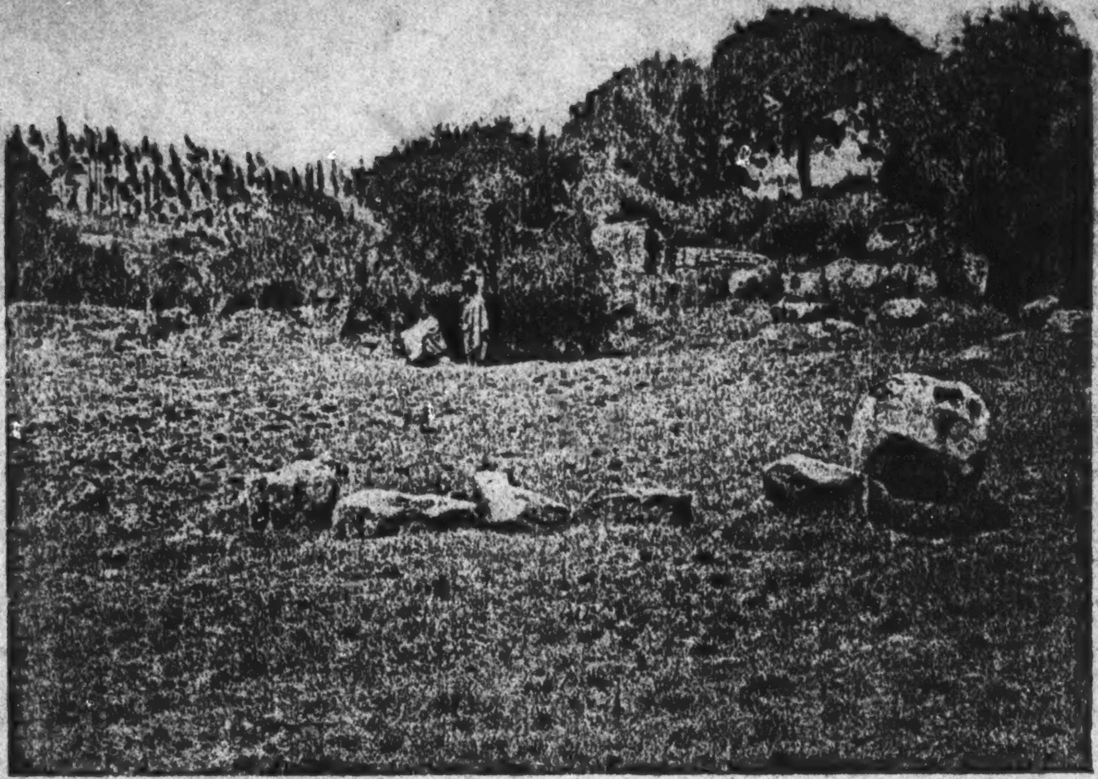

FIG. 42.—THE 'IRNÖRTKARS' AT KARS. IN THE BACKGROUND IS THE 'WURSULI.'

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

778

688 offences have brought upon him. Giving the buffalo is
782 clearly of the nature of a 'sin offering,' but the offering
783 is only made when the sin has already had evil
consequences and it is made in order to remove these
673 consequences. Its object is atonement for an offence com-
796 mitted. It seemed that a man only had resort to the advice of the diviners in the case of exceptionally severe misfortunes. The act of giving the buffalo is attended by ceremonial which involves considerable expense to himself and great inconvenience to all the members of his clan. The expenses and inconvenience are so great that the ceremonies of *irnörtiti* and *tuninörtiti* are rarely performed, and in some clans it is many years since they have occurred.

[793] There is one case in which the *irnörtiti* ceremony may be performed for a reason quite different from any of those given above. Owing to a quarrel which took place many generations ago, the people of Pedrkars (and probably also those of Kulhem) may not hold the office of *palol*. They may become eligible, however, if they perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony at Kuudr or Kiudr. It would seem as if they can only hold the office by expiating the offence committed in the remote past by their ancestors.

THE IRNÖRTITI CEREMONY

778 This ceremony takes place at certain prescribed villages,
796 usually at the chief village of the clan, though when a clan has
618 several important dairies the ceremony may be performed at any of them. Thus, members of the Kuudrol may give the buffalo at Kuudr, Kiudr or Miuni.

At nearly every village there is an appointed spot, usually marked by a stone or a group of stones, called *irnörtkars*, at which the ceremony is to be performed. At Kars there is a row of stones, shown in Fig. 42. At Nòdrs the appointed spot is a pool of water (Fig. 43) by the side of a gap in the long wall of that village.

618 On the day before the new moon following the vow to give
796 the buffalo, all the women leave the village at which the
621

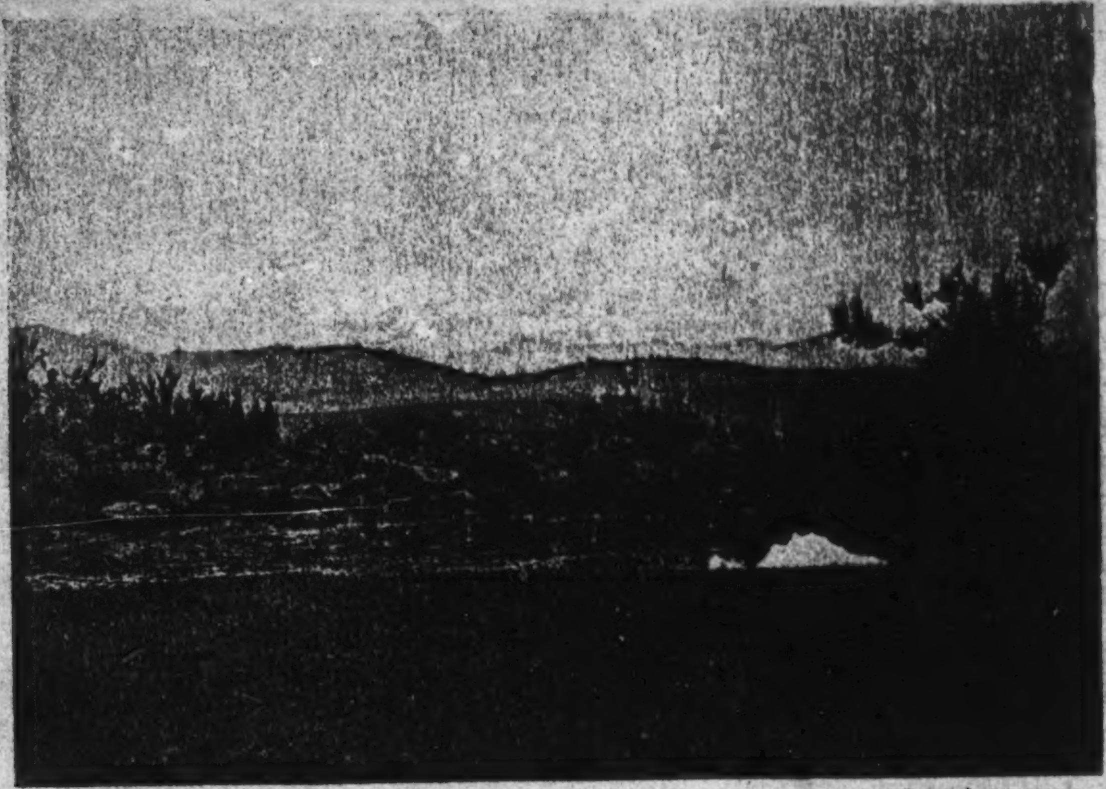

FIG. 43.—GAP IN THE WALL AT NÒDRS THROUGH WHICH THE CALF IS DRIVEN AT THE 'IRNÖRṬITI' CEREMONY.

234 764 may return to the dairy of its own accord at the proper time.

At one funeral at which I was present the buffalo was so alarmed or so infuriated by the proceedings that it lay down and absolutely refused to move, and the efforts of all present were insufficient to drag the animal to the slaughtering place. This incident will be described more fully later, but I mention it here to show that it may often be difficult to drive the buffalo, and that the unaccustomed vigour with which the animal is beaten may have a natural and not a ceremonial reason.

234 764 Before the buffalo is killed two things have still to be done. A bell or its substitute has to be hung on the neck of the buffalo, and butter rubbed on its back, head and horns.

778 If one of the *wursulir* is to be killed there is hung on its neck the sacred bell called *mani*, while the ordinary buffalo or *putiir* is given only the *kwungg* or household bell. A *mani* may also be used for the varieties of sacred buffalo called *nashperthir*, *persasir*, &c. Probably at one time there was a *mani* for each kind, but some of the sacred bells have been lost, and it is only in some clans that a bell can now be used. Those clans which have no *mani* do not use an ordinary bell, but they tie the sacred buffalo to the *teiks* by means of a piece of the creeper called *kakhudri*, about two yards in length. This is the case with all the Teivaliol except the people of Piedr and with the Melgarsol among the Tartharol. The *kakhudri* is said to be used in place of the *mani*.

The details as to the use of the *mani* differ somewhat in different clans. The Nòdrs people have two *mani*, called Kòdj and Kagur, which are now kept at Òdr. When a Nòdrs man dies these bells are fetched from Òdr by the *wursol* and one is hung on the neck of one of the *mersgursir* and the other on the neck of one of the *nashperthir*.[1] After the *etvainolkedr* these bells are kept outside the conical dairy at Nòdrs in a special hole in a stone called *karsalb*. The people of Kars similarly take their *mani* to Taradrkirsi for the

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[1] Owing to the fact that the Nòdrs people do not kill both of these kinds of buffalo at one funeral at the present time, they now only bring *one* of the two bells from Òdr.

234 first funeral and keep it there till the funeral ceremonies are
764 completed.

Among the Teivaliol the Piedrol are the only clan to
778 possess a *mani*, which is called Kerâni. It is kept in a wood or *shola* near the funeral place and lies in an earthenware pot buried in the ground. At the funeral of a Piedr man the bell is hung on the neck of a buffalo belonging to the *kudeipir* (the special name for the *pasthir* of this clan). It is dug up by the Teivali *palikartpol* and given by him to a Nòdrs man, who ties it on the neck of the buffalo. The Nòdrs man chosen for this office must bathe on the morning of this day and must go without food till after the funeral.

234 Just before the buffalo is killed butter is smeared on the back
764 of the animal, on the horns and on the part of the head
618 between the horns. This should be done by a man of the same clan as the dead person.

The killing of the buffalo is called *irkipti*. It is done by striking the animal on the head with the back of an axe (*masth*). The animal is usually killed by one blow, though in some cases more are necessary. The *wursulir* are killed by the *wursol* and the ordinary buffaloes by men of the same division as the deceased, but of a different clan Certain clans appear to have a prescriptive right to kill the buffalo; thus, among the Teivaliol, a Kuudr man kills at the funerals of members of all other clans, while at the funeral of a Kuudr man a member of one of the other clans performs this function. Among the Tartharol, the members of the Nòdrs and Kars clans appear to occupy the most privileged position, but the relations are more complicated than among the Teivaliol. At a Kars funeral the ordinary buffalo is killed by a man of Nòdrs, Taradr or Pan. At a funeral of a member of any of these three clans, a Kars man kills. At funerals in other clans, the buffalo is usually killed by men either of Kars or Nòdrs, but in the case of a Kwòdrdoni funeral, it seemed that the killing might also be done by a man of Pām or Nidrsi. Each buffalo is killed at the appointed stone or post, and the *teiks* at which the *wursulir* are killed is at some distance from the funeral hut, and a woman is not allowed to approach the spot lest she should see the sacred bell.

but is allowed to go free. The bell (*tukulir mani*) is kept by the Kotas or Badagas till it is required by the Todas for another funeral. 177 765 783

The assumption of the cloak covering the remains by the Teivali man is called *ártûrverutiti*, and the throwing of the mixed blood and bark by the *wursol* is called *kedrkarchiti*—*i.e.*, funeral (or remains) purifying. Either at this stage or later the blood and *tudr* bark are rubbed on the piece of skull and hair which form the *narskedr*.

One of the most important features of this *kodtiti* ceremony [778] is that the sacred *tudr* bark is used The ceremony is not performed at the funerals of the Teivaliol or of the Melgarsol, because they may use *tudr* in the ordination ceremonies for the offices of *palol*, *wursol*, or *kaltmokh*.

The object of the ceremony appears to be that members of those clans who have no chance of being purified with *tudr* during life shall be purified with this substance before they go finally to Amnòdr. A Teivali or Melgars man, however, has only used *tudr* if he has been ordained to one of the three offices above mentioned. If the dead man has not been through an ordination ceremony, however, the purification does not take place at his second funeral, but a Tarthar man puts a piece of *tudr* bark into his right hand at the first funeral (see p. 367).

In the account which Breeks gives of this ceremony he states that certain formulæ are said, including "*Karma odi pona*;" "May the sin run away." I could not confirm this, and I do not believe that *karma* is a Toda word. It is probable that the use of these or other formulæ is an innovation.

The Badagas of the Nilgiris let loose a calf at a funeral to bear the sins of the deceased.[1] It is possible that the calf in this Toda ceremony may have the same significance. If so, the practice has not improbably been borrowed, and the fact that the bell which is hung on the neck of the calf is kept by Kotas or Badagas suggests that the whole incident may have been borrowed by the Todas from one or other of these races.

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[1] See Thurston, *Bull.*, ii. p. 4.

the midst of barren buffaloes you went; you caught the 533
throats of the buffaloes; you ran first and caught the 539
buffaloes before the chosen men; well you danced and
shouted finely; you invented new things. To-day for the 765
last time I saw your face. Has the angel of death come to you? I see nothing but ashes in your burning-place. In your *azaram* place I see nothing but grass growing."

PURIFICATION CEREMONIES

Certain further ceremonies are performed about the time of 234
the first new moon after the *marvainolkedr*.

At one or both of the funerals of a Tarthar man a sacred 783
buffalo will have been killed by the *wursol* and the sacred 793
bell (*mani*) will have been used. By his acts at the funeral 765
the *wursol* loses his office, and by its use on the same occasion 778
the *mani* is defiled. On the day before the new moon following the funeral all the things in the dairy of the *wursol* are thrown away. Either a new dairyman is appointed and goes through the usual rites, or the old *wursol* is re-appointed and has to repeat his ordination ceremonies. This is done on the Sunday after the new moon, which is the proper day for the ordination of a *wursol*, exactly the same ceremonies being performed as those described in Chapter VII. The old *wursol* puts the *mani* in the dairy stream (*pali nipa*), and if he is not re-appointed, his duties then cease. The new *wursol*, or the old *wursol* who has undergone new ordination ceremonies, takes the *mani* from the stream and purifies it by rubbing it all over with pounded *tudr* bark and water. He then takes the bell to the dairy, which is now empty, finds a new stick on which to hang it, and puts both stick and bell in their proper place on the *patatmar*. Then the new dairy vessels are purified and put in their places in the usual manner.

This purification of the dairy is not done by the Teivaliol, and seems to be only necessary when the *mani* and the dairyman who looks after it have been defiled by the funeral ceremonies. In the case of the Nòdrsol, the *mani* between the two funeral ceremonies is kept at Nòdrs, and is taken back to Òdr on the Sunday after the new moon following the

234 second funeral, and it is at Òdr that the purification takes
765 place.

Similarly the Kars *mani* is returned from Taradrkirsi to
763 Kars on this day. I was told that the *pepkaricha* ceremony
793 of making new *pep* is performed after the funeral of a man
among the Tartharol, and it seems as if this new appointment
● 778 of a dairyman and this use and purification of new dairy
vessels are regarded as a form of the *pepkaricha* ceremony.

Another ceremony which takes place after the *marvainolkedr* is designed to purify the places used during the funeral rites and especially the *azaram*. This ceremony is called *kertnòdrkarchpimi*, "funeral place we purify," or *mutnolnòdrvusthpimi*, "new moon day place (or ceremony) we keep." On the day of the new moon following the second funeral two men of the same clan as the deceased take a buffalo in the early morning from the pen to a spot about half a mile from the village. They wait there till about eleven o'clock, and then kill the buffalo by striking it on the head with a stone. They draw blood from one side of the animal and mix the blood with earth in a basket. The Teivaliol and Melgarsol add *tudr* bark to the earth and blood. The mixture is then taken to the funeral places and scattered over the spots where the buffalo was caught and killed, where the dead body or the *narskedr* had lain at the two funerals, at the *methkudi* and the *azaram*. If the places for the *etvainol-* and *marvainol-kedr* are different and far distant from one another, the spots used at the former may be omitted, but the most important place which must always be purified in this way is the *azaram*. In any case this place is the last to be purified, and the men then throw away the basket and go straight back to their village, where they bathe and take food, having fasted till this time.

This ceremony is only performed after the funerals of males. The buffalo killed is called the *nòdrvusthpir*. The Teivaliol and Melgarsol use a male buffalo calf for the purpose; the Tartharol, other than the Melgarsol, use an adult female buffalo.

No use is made of the flesh of the animal; the body is left where it falls and is not given to the Kotas.

There is no doubt that the buffaloes killed at the funeral 764
are supposed to go to Amnòdr with the dead person. Sacred 234
buffaloes are only killed at the funerals of men, for they 782
would be useless to women, who, in the next world as in this,
have nothing to do with dairies at which the sacred buffaloes 775
must be tended. There is no evidence that the slaughter of buffaloes is in any way a propitiatory sacrifice, and there seems to be a very marked absence of anything resembling prayer or other forms of appeal to higher powers in the funeral ceremonies.[1]

Dairymen take part in the funeral ceremonies, but chiefly 764
in connexion with the sacred buffaloes. The highest kind 234
of dairyman, the *palol*, has no duties whatever, and loses his
office if he takes part merely as a visitor. At Tarthar funerals 793
the *wursol* has important duties, chiefly connected with the 778
sacred buffaloes and with the *mani*, which is hung round their necks. He also takes the chief part in the *koòtiti* and accompanying ceremonies of the second funeral, probably because the sacred *tudr* bark is used. In one rite there is no obvious reason why the *wursol* should play a part—viz., in that of throwing earth. As this ceremony, however, is of especial importance, it suggests that formerly dairymen may have had more to do with funeral ceremonies than is the case at present.

Among the Teivaliol, the *palikartmokh* has less important functions. He probably kills the sacred buffaloes, though on this point I am not certain. Only one Teivali clan possesses a *mani* which is used at a funeral, and it is noteworthy that, though the bell is removed from its hiding place (see p. 354) by the *palikartmokh*, it is taken to the funeral and hung on the neck of the buffalo by a Tarthar man belonging to the Nòdrs clan.

The facts that the *wursol* takes part in the funerals of 764
men; that sacred buffaloes are killed; that dairies are used 234
in these funerals, and that the funeral hut of a man is always 793

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[1] Several of those who have witnessed Toda funerals have noticed that barren buffaloes are killed on these occasions, and I believe that it is a recognised custom to use such animals. Pidrvan's funeral lament begins with a reference to barren buffaloes, and the clause, "in the midst of barren buffaloes you went," evidently refers to Pidrvan's skill in catching buffaloes at the funeral ceremonies.

CHAPTER XVIII

SACRED PLACES AND OBJECTS

THE Todas show undoubted signs of reverence to various 778
material objects. Many of the objects so reverenced have been mentioned incidentally in the account of the dairy ritual and in other places, and in this chapter I propose to consider how far these objects are regarded as sacred, and to give an account of some sacred objects not hitherto noticed.

Of the various objects of reverence the following are the most important: hills and rivers; villages, dairies, their thresholds and contents; bells; the buffalo and its milk; trees and plants; the sun, fire and light; and stones.

HILLS AND OTHER PLACES.

Any place connected with the gods is reverenced by the 778
the Todas, and this is especially the case with the hills where 823
they dwell. Only some hills, however, are shown reverence 788
by means of the *kaimukhti* salutation. One of these is the hill of Nòtirzi (Snowdon), and every Toda visiting this hill salutes with hand to forehead in all directions. Another place where a similar salutation is performed is a spot at Avalanche Top. When I visited this place with Kutadri he saluted in all directions with both hands to his face, and told me that a man who once omitted to do this was killed soon after by a tiger. In this case I could not learn that Kutadri was saluting any particular hill or other spot. He seemed to be saluting the region of the Kundahs on which he was about to enter.

778 There are doubtless other places where the same sign of
788 reverence is used.

The sanctity of the hills will be further considered in the next chapter, when discussing in what sense at the present time the gods are believed to dwell on their summits.

RIVERS

778 There are two sacred rivers, the Teipakh (Paikara) and the
Pakhwar (Avalanche), both identified with or inhabited by
788 gods. They are the two largest streams on the Nilgiris, and
823 there are numerous indications of their sanctity. Every Toda
784 crossing either of these streams must put his right arm outside his cloak (*kevenarut*) while he is doing so. The only exception to this rule is in the case of a widower who is wearing his cloak over his head, and he shows his respect by putting out his right hand below the cloak. On cold days the Todas wrap their cloaks closely around them, and I have often seen them put out their right arms just before they stepped on the bridge near the Paikara bungalow, and put them in again with obvious relief the moment they had reached the other side.

At one time these rivers might only be crossed on certain days of the week. The Toda believed that if they crossed on a Tuesday, Friday, or Saturday, consequences might ensue which could only be set right by the *irnörtiti* ceremony. This prohibition is no longer in force, but its influence is still shown in another way.

When two *matchuni* cross either of these rivers in company they usually perform a ceremony to be described on p. 501, but this ceremony is omitted on the three days above mentioned, probably because the people should not properly be there at all.

778 The *palol* may not cross either of the rivers except at
784 certain spots which are not the places used by ordinary
people. In the old days there were certain fords, and the
788 *palol* had his own ford. At the present time, when the Todas
823 habitually cross the Paikara by means of a bridge, the
793 restriction is put in the form that "the *palol* may not cross

the river by the bridge." The *kaltmokh* also may not cross 778
the river by the bridge except when he is degraded to the
rank of *perkursol*. 784

There is a small stream near Nòdrs which may not be 788
crossed at a given spot, this being the place where Teikirzi 823
is reputed to have shared out the buffaloes among the Todas. 793

The only other restriction on crossing water was of a different kind. One who had been bitten by a snake might not cross a stream, and this applied to any stream and not only to the two sacred rivers of Teipakh and Pakhwar.

VILLAGES

It is difficult to distinguish how far the sanctity of a village 778
is due to its dairy. No village without a dairy is regarded as
sacred, but there is no doubt that the village itself may have 621
some sanctity, and it is probable that the chief village of a 788
clan which no longer had a dairy might nevertheless continue
to be treated with some degree of reverence.

Reverence is shown to every village which is called an *etudmad*, but this word is used in two senses. The chief village of the clan from which the people of the clan take their name is the *etudmad* of the clan or *madol*, but the same name is also given to any village to which any special idea of sanctity attaches, and this is especially marked if its dairy should possess a *mani*. The sign of reverence paid to an *etudmad* is the salutation called *kaimukhti* or *kaburlti*. Whenever a man comes within sight of one of these villages he purifies his mouth by chewing some grass, and then salutes the village by placing his hand in front of his face in the way shown in Fig. 10. The salutation is performed with the right hand outside the cloak (*kevenarut*), and if a man is wearing a turban he will take it off, as is shown in the figure.

When a man salutes in this way he may be two or three miles from the village, the salutation being made, according to some accounts, directly the man sees the village, and according to others, not until he sees the dairy. When my guide Kòdrner was saluting the sacred village of Kiudr, I could see neither the hut nor the dairy of this village,

621 though I could see the grove in which I knew them to be.
778 When going from Ootacamund to Paikara by the bridle path
788 the village of Taradr is saluted at a spot about two miles from the village in a straight line.

When a man leaves an *etudmad* he turns towards the village when it is about to pass out of view, chews some grass, and salutes in the same way as on first viewing it. On all the chief routes over the hills the Todas know the exact spots at which different villages become visible, and I have noticed that the salutation to a given village has been made by different Todas and on different occasions from exactly the same spot.

In a few cases there was some doubt as to whether a given village should receive the *kaimukhti* salutation or not. It seemed that there were certain *etudmad* more sacred than the rest, and they would be saluted by every Toda, irrespective of the division or clan to which he belonged, while in other cases the salutation was only obligatory on the members of the clan to which the village belonged, though these villages were often saluted by others who were scrupulous in following the observances of their people. The villages which must be saluted by every one are the seventeen chief villages of the clans (excluding Kidmad and Karsh), and two others, Kiudr and Miuni, the former because it is a *satimad* (see p. 421) and the latter because formerly the Toda gods used to hold their *naim* or council there. I made a list of the villages of each clan to which the salutation is paid by the members of the clan, and found that they were villages with dairies of sanctity, and in every case, so far as I could tell, villages of great antiquity. Many of the villages so honoured are mentioned in legend, and I believe this salutation to be a useful indication that a village is ancient. I shall have to discuss later whether Kavidi, near Gudalur, in the Wainad, is an ancient village or one of modern growth, and I attach importance to the fact that it does not receive the *kaimukhti* salutation even from the members of the clan to which it belongs.

562 Certain villages are called *kalolmad*, or "old man villages,"
621 where only buffaloes and men may live. They are usually
778
784
788

villages where there is plenty of grass for the buffaloes, and 562
are in general visited for short periods. The only explanation 621
which could be given was that owing to the short time they 778
are occupied it is not worth while to transfer the whole family
to the place. It seemed, however, certain that women were 784
definitely forbidden to live at these villages—a village where a 788
woman may live being distinguished as *ishnidvaimad*—and this suggests that the institution is based on something more than mere convenience, and that the villages have some kind of sanctity which makes it undesirable that women should live in them.

The following are the only existing villages of this kind:—Taradrkirsi, the male funeral village of Kars; Kudrmas and Telgudr, belonging to Taradr; Perg, belonging to the Panol; and Pirsush, belonging to Kuudr.

Three of these, Taradrkirsi, Kudrmas, and Pirsush, receive the *kaimukhti* salutation, and are certainly ancient and sacred villages, while there was some doubt as to whether Telgudr should not also be saluted. The only *kalolmad* I visited was Taradrkirsi, where there is now only a dairy, so that there is a clear reason why women cannot live there, but this did not appear to be the reason at other places.

Again, I could not ascertain why they should be called "old man villages," and their existence must, I am afraid, remain a mystery, though I think we may be confident that there is, or has been in the past, some ceremonial reason to explain their existence.

Two Todas villages are known as *satimad*. If a dispute 621
arises between two men they are taken to the front of the 627
dairy of the *satimad*, and are made to state what has
happened, and anything a man says under these conditions 761
will be believed. It is thought that if a man does not speak 778
the truth, he will fall sick and his buffaloes will die.

According to some accounts there is only one true *satimad*, the village of Kiudr, which we have already seen has several signs of especial sanctity, such as the mention of its house in the prayer, the severe restrictions on its women during pregnancy, and the homage rendered to it by Todas of every clan.

621 627 778 According to other accounts the village of Kanòdrs[1] is also a *satimad*, and Todas of all clans may be brought there to make statements. It seems most probable that both places are *satimad*, but that the custom of using Kanòdrs as a touchstone of truth is now no longer followed, Kiudr only being used for this purpose. It will be remembered that both Kiudr and Kanòdrs have features of dairy ritual peculiar to themselves, and that in some respects there is a close resemblance between the ritual of the two places.

[114] In his book written in 1832,[2] Captain Harkness says that the Todas have a temple dedicated to Truth, but identifies this with a *ti* dairy (*teriri*). It is probable, however, that his statement was based on what he was told of the *satimad*, either of Kiudr or Kanòdrs.

THE DAIRY

234 621 778 788 As we have already seen, there is some doubt whether the reverence paid to a village is paid to the village as a whole or to the dairy. There is no doubt, however, that the dairy draws to itself most of the veneration which a village excites.

Whenever a devout Toda visits a strange village, he goes to the dairy, and prostrating himself at its threshold, utters a prayer. My ordinary guide, Kòdrner, was not devout and did not pay this reverence, but his brother, Kutadri, was very scrupulous in performing these duties, especially when he went with me to the Kundahs. I could not obtain from him the prayer that he employed on these occasions.

The contents of the dairy are regarded as sacred, and, as we have seen, definite means are taken to prevent these objects from contamination by the gaze or touch of ordinary mortals. Of the objects kept in the dairy the bells are undoubtedly the most sacred. The most sacred of the vessels is the *mu*, which is not kept in the dairy but is buried in the buffalo-pen, and is only used on certain ceremonial occasions.

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[1] At this place there is now only a dairy.

[2] Pp. 18 and 67.

This *mu* is closely associated with the general sanctity 234
of the dairy. The prosperity of the dairy is dependent on 778
its condition, and it would seem to have very much the same ideas attached to it as we meet in the life-token. It may also be regarded as the emblem of a dairy, and in the case of the funeral hut of Taradr, we have seen that a building becomes a dairy when a *mu* is placed in its inner room.

In his account of the Todas, Breeks identifies the special [114]
name of the dairy with that of the presiding god of the dairy or village. If he is right, it would seem to follow that the Todas personify the dairy in some degree. The use of the name of dairies in such a formula as that used at the end of the *irnörtiti* ceremony (see p. 303) might be regarded as evidence of this personification of the dairy. I do not believe, however, in this personification, and if the dairy has attained in some measure to the dignity of a god, there is no doubt that this god belongs to a category very different from that of the true Toda gods of the hill-tops.

THE THRESHOLD

As we have just seen, a man in paying reverence to the 234
dairy bows down and touches the threshold with his forehead, 778
and the threshold also frequently plays a part in the dairy 788
ceremonial. The dairyman bows down and touches the threshold of his dairy before entering upon his work, and this is also one of the acts performed on his entrance into office on ordination.

The Teivaliol at an ordination also sweep the threshold with the grass called *kakar*, and the same grass is used to sweep the threshold of the dairy by the young girl who performs this office on reaching the new village during the migration ceremony (see p. 128). In the *tuninörtiti* and *pilinörtiti* ceremonies the offering is laid on the threshold of the dairy, and in the ceremony of uncovering for the first time the face of a boy, the child is put down by his father so that his forehead touches the threshold.

BELLS

778 These are the most sacred of the sacred objects of the
Todas. It is necessary, however, to distinguish three kinds
177 of bells, the *mani*, the *tukulir mani*, and the *kwungg*, and it is
534 only the first of these which has any great sanctity.

The *tukulir mani* is only used in the *koòtiti* ceremony of the second funeral (p. 376), and between these occasions is kept by the Badagas or Kotas. I am doubtful whether it is a true Toda object, and suspect that it is a Badaga or Kota bell which is used in a ceremony borrowed by the Todas from one or other of these peoples.

The *kwungg* is the household bell and is kept in the hut. It is used in the funeral ceremonies on two occasions, being hung on the neck of one of the ordinary buffaloes before the animal is killed, and it is also the bell which is rung in the final scene of the *azaramkedr*. The bell may be touched or carried by women, and I have seen a *kwungg* removed from the neck of a slaughtered buffalo by a Kota who handed it to a woman. Though the bell is used in ceremonial, the fact that it may be touched by both Kotas and women shows clearly that it is not regarded as possessing any sanctity whatever. In general appearance, however, the *kwungg* probably differs little from the *mani*, being a large bell of the same oblong shape which is characteristic of cattle-bells.

778 The *mani* is a bell which, so far as I could ascertain, never
534 has a tongue, though this loss may be nothing more than a
sign of its antiquity.

There are several kinds of *mani*. At the *ti* dairy there are two distinct varieties: the *mani* proper which is kept in the inner room and is hung on the neck of a chosen calf of the *persinir* on the occasion of the migration ceremonies, and the *kudrsmani* which is kept outside the door of the dairy. The latter appear to have little sanctity, but the former are probably the most sacred of Toda objects of veneration. They are said to be extremely ancient; some are reputed to have come from Amnòdr, and others are believed to have had miraculous origins, one having been born in a vessel of milk while the buffaloes were on their way from Amnòdr, while another came from the sea. The Todas believe that some of these bells are of gold, and one was reputed to be made of three metals—gold, silver, and iron. The bell born in milk is said to be of iron.

It seems probable that each of the more sacred herds at the village had at one time its own *mani*, and that a clan which possessed both *wursuli* and *kudrpali* would have had two bells of this kind or two sets of such bells.

At the present time, many of the clans have lost their sacred bells, and those which possess *mani* have only one or two of them. My most definite account for the Tartharol comes from Kars, where it is clear that the *wursuli* has two bells, the same as those reputed to have been hung on the neck of Enmon in the legend of Kwoto.[1] The *kudrpali* also had two bells which have now been lost, but the place where they used to hang still shares in the dairy ritual and is fed with milk just as the bells would have been if they had been there.

Since it is the *wursol* who takes the prominent part in the funeral ceremonies of a male, it seems also clear that the bells which are hung on the necks of the slaughtered buffaloes are those of the *wursuli*, but I did not definitely ascertain whether the bells of a *kudrpali* might not be used for this purpose, and indeed I am not altogether certain that any rigorous distinction is made between *wursuli mani* and *kudrpali mani*.

One striking distinction between the dairies of the Teivaliol and Tartharol was said to be the absence of *mani* among the former, except in the Piedr clan, and here there was something exceptional, for when this bell is used at a funeral it is hung on the neck of the buffalo by a Tarthar man belonging to Nòdrs. I was often told that, with this exception, the Teivaliol had no *mani*, and it was only towards the end of my visit that I became aware of the existence in the dairy of Kiudr of six bells called *mani*, two distinguished as *patatmani* and four as *ertatmani*.

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[1] According to another account, these bells are kept at the *wursuli* of Nasmiòdr, and the *wursuli* of Kars has three *mani* in addition to these.

778 534 Among the Tartharol there was no distinction of this kind, and it seemed that these bells were looked on by the Todas in a different light to other bells, and were not thought of when they told me that the Teivaliol had no *mani*. It was quite clear that they were not used at funerals. The suggestion which I have made in the chapter on the dairy ritual would provide an explanation of this apparently exceptional position of the Kiudr *mani*. If Kiudr is the relic of an old *ti* dairy and the bells are the old *mani* of the *ti*, it becomes clear why the bells have their exceptional character, and why they are not used at a funeral, for the bells of a *ti* would never be allowed to suffer the defilement to which this ceremonial use subjects them.

778 788 234 534 Most of the *mani* have milk, curds, or buttermilk offered to them during the dairy ceremonial. The only exceptions of which I heard were some of the bells of the *ti* dairy, the bell called Keu at the Nòdrs *ti*, and that called Pongg at the Pan *ti*, which are not 'fed,' to use the common Toda expression.

At the village dairy the 'feeding' is a regular part of the dairy ritual, curds being put on the bells in the earlier, and some of the milk from that first brought into the dairy, in the later part of the proceedings. I only heard of one instance in which bells were given buttermilk. This was done with the *ertatmani* of the Kiudr dairy, and if the supposition given above is correct, this should, therefore, also be the procedure with the *kudrs mani* of the *ti* dairy. It is quite possible that this is one of the details of the dairy ritual which escaped me, or it may be that it was a special custom of the *ti* dairy from which I suppose the Kiudr dairy to have been derived.

771 778 534 Some writers on the Todas have regarded the bells as the Toda gods, and there certainly is some evidence which would justify one in regarding them as idols. The 'feeding' is a definite indication that the bells are, to a certain extent, regarded by the Todas as living beings, and in the legendary accounts of the origin of certain bells, belief in their activity is obvious. One bell is born and another comes from the sea and sits on the side of a milking vessel. It is quite clear, however, that the bell belongs to a different category in the religion of the Todas from that occupied by the gods.

Possibly the Todas may have some clear ideas about the 771
connexion between their bells, gods, and dairies, but I could 778
not discover them, and am inclined to believe that the people
are now very hazy about the exact place of the bell and 534
the god in their theology.

It was quite clear that they believed an offence against the dairy was punished by the gods, and I cannot say definitely that in this case the bell may not have been personified as a god, but I do not think that this was so.

It seems to me probable that the present sanctity of the 234
bell has come about by a process of transference[1] from the 778
buffalo to the object worn by it. Probably at one time the
buffaloes were more directly venerated than they appear to be 534
at present. There is evidence that even in recent times the 174
bell-cow or buffalo which carried the bell was an object of 771
especial veneration. In such books as those of Harkness and Marshall, the bell-cow seems to occupy a more prominent position than, so far as I could tell, it occupies at present.

In the present day the *mani* of the *ti* is only hung on the neck of a buffalo at the migration from one *ti mad* to another and at the Nòdrs *ti*, only for a few minutes even then. At the village dairy, the *mani* is never, so far as I could tell, put on the neck of a buffalo except at the funeral ceremonies. The idea in the latter case seems to be that a sacred buffalo should wear its bell, and in order that the buffalo slaughtered at a funeral should go to Amnòdr with its bell, the *mani* is hung on its neck while it is being killed. The legend of Kwoto and Punatvan shows that the bells are believed to travel to Amnòdr with the buffaloes.

The following may be suggested as a sketch of the probable evolution of the sanctity of the bell. At one time the buffaloes were the chief sacred objects of the Todas. Then this sanctity was concentrated in the persons of the bell-buffaloes, and later became partially attached to the bells, and the Todas then probably reached a stage in which it was doubtful how far the sanctity of the bell-buffalo was due to its position

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[1] As we have already seen (p. 243) there is some reason to think that there has been example of such transference of sanctity to an object in the case of the *mu* or buried dairy vessel.

234 as chief of the herd, and how far to the bell it carried. It is
778 possible that this was the stage of evolution of the idea
in which the earliest visitors to the Nilgiris found the Todas.
534 We may suppose that gradually the sanctity became more
174 and more attached to the bell, less and less to its
771 possessor, until now the Todas seem to have reached a
position in which the bell-buffalo has little or no sanctity
above its fellows, and the sanctity resides almost wholly in
the bell. The original use of the bell now only survives in
the ritual accompanying the migration of the *ti* buffaloes and
in the funeral ceremonies.

[192] There is one small fact which may perhaps be taken to indicate that the word *mani* is now applied to any object of a sacred or magical nature. The armlet put on the wrist of a child at the naming ceremony is called *kansutimani*. If the last part of this word is the same as the name of the bell, it would seem to indicate that the word may be used for an object the significance of which is magical rather than religious, and in connexion with a practice which has probably been borrowed.

RELICS

778 The Todas have a few relics of heroes which are regarded as objects of veneration, and are kept in the dairies. One of these, which is believed to be the armlet of the Kars man who went with the *ti* buffaloes in the story of Kwoto, is kept at Kuzhu, and has milk put on it during the dairy ritual in the same way as if it were a bell.

Another object is the ring of Kwoten which was found on the sambhar skin after the disappearance of this god. I saw this ring, which is of silver and far more massive than the rings worn by the Todas at the present time. Breeks states that in his time the Todas also claimed to have had in their possession the spear of Kwoten.

THE BUFFALO AND ITS MILK

234 In discussing the sanctity of the bells of the Toda dairies
778 we have seen that there is some reason to think that these

objects have attained their sacred character, at any rate in 234 part, by a process of transference of sanctity from the buffaloes 778 by which they were borne.

It is in favour of this view that the buffaloes seem at one time to have been more sacred, or to have received more definite signs of reverence than at the present time. The [773] evidence of the legends points to a time when buffaloes were regarded as having anthropomorphic characters, and they probably indicate a belief in the sacred nature of these animals. When the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* first came from Amnòdr, they talked like men, and the buffalo who founded the *ti mad* at Makars was a very human animal.

In his book, Captain Harkness (p. 16) states that as 234 the buffaloes of the village are about to be penned for the 778 night, the whole family, male and female, salute them by 788 bringing the hand to the face. So far as I could ascertain, this is no longer done, and the only definite sign of reverence paid to the buffaloes, so far as I could learn, is the salutation made, partly to them and partly to the sun, by the *palol* when he leaves his dairy. Whenever in my journeys about the hills we came across herds of sacred buffaloes, even those of the *ti*, no salutation or sign of respect was made by the Todas who were with me, though a dairy, especially if it contained a *mani*, would receive obvious signs of veneration. Except in connexion with ceremonial there was nothing in the behaviour of the Todas towards their buffaloes to indicate that they were sacred animals, and it seems probable that the sanctity of the buffaloes has been to a great extent transferred, partly to the *mani* and partly to the milk given by the animals.

The milk is undoubtedly regarded as a sacred substance. 234 There are distinct restrictions on its use which become more 778 onerous as one ascends in the scale of dairies, and we have seen that there is reason to believe that the whole complicated daily ritual of the dairy may be designed to neutralise the dangers attendant on the conversion of the milk into substances which may be used by the outside world.

Throughout this book I have spoken of sacred buffaloes to distinguish them from those which take no part in the

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778

dairy ritual, but it is a question whether the sanctity does not attach much more closely to the objects connected with the buffaloes than to the buffaloes themselves.

I think it is clear that at the present time none of the Toda buffaloes are so sacred that their milk in the form of ghi may not be used. Some writers have supposed that no profit is made from the sacred buffaloes of the *ti*, but at present this is certainly not so, and the ghi made from the milk of the sacred buffaloes is sold with the rest and may be used by all.

In earlier days, when the Todas led simpler lives than at present, when the bazaars of Ootacamund and Coonoor were not in existence to act as incentives to the acquirement of gain, it is possible that the Todas did not sell the ghi made from the milk of their more sacred buffaloes, and, as I have already suggested, it is even possible that at one time they were content to allow these animals to suckle their calves and made no use of their milk. Even at the present time a sacred buffalo will not be milked unless it is provided with the appropriate dairy and dairyman. The buffaloes of a *ti* which has no *palol*, or of a *wursuli* which has no *wursol*, are not allowed to be milked though they may be looked after by other men. With this exception, however, I believe that, at the present time, every buffalo, even of the most sacred herds, is a source of profit by the sale of the ghi which is made from its milk.

The various offerings of buffaloes made in connexion with ceremonial are also not allowed to interfere with the economic value of the animals. In the *irnörtiti* ceremony of the village, the offered buffalo simply passes from one division of a clan to another, and when a buffalo is said to be devoted to the gods, it does not mean that the owner profits a whit the less on account of the oblation, but only that he may not kill it at a funeral, and must allow it to die a natural death.

Even the slaughter of animals at the funeral ceremonies appears to be managed so as to interfere as little as possible with the profits obtained from the sale of the milk. I think there is little doubt that it is an established custom to kill old and barren buffaloes on these occasions. An animal is not sent to the next world till its owner has got the utmost out of it in this.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Only on one point is it clear that the Todas make no direct 234
gain from their buffaloes. When once a buffalo is dead, the 177
Todas seek no further profit, and the carcases become the
property of the Kotas. But even here there is an indirect 437
gain, for the bodies of the buffaloes form a large part of the equivalent received by the Kotas for the many services they render to the Todas.

OTHER ANIMALS

The Todas have so highly developed the cult of one animal 773
that they show few traces of belief in the sanctity of others. 778
I will put together here the whole of the scanty evidence
which I possess concerning their relations with animals in 825
general.

The Tiger.—The Todas have a legend that at one time the tiger used to watch over the buffaloes for them during the day and hand over his charge in the evening. One day the tiger was very hungry and its hunger made it angry. When it brought the buffaloes back to the village it saw a cat catching a rat. Then the tiger asked the cat for some of the flesh, but the cat said, "There is no fool like you; why don't you eat some of the buffaloes you look after?" At that time the tiger usually slept at the village, but on this evening it went into the wood and at midnight came slowly back and took one of the buffaloes out of the pen, and since then it has always done this.

According to another legend (see p. 185), buffaloes have been killed by tigers ever since the *arsaiir* of the Kwòdrdoni *ti* failed to come to the general gathering which assembled to bid farewell to Ön when he went to rule over Amnòdr.

Jervis[1] states that the natives of the hills salaam to the tiger. He does not say definitely that it is the Todas who do this, but it is probable that he is referring to them. He also states that the women of the village throw themselves on their knees before a tiger which has been killed, and touch his bristles with their foreheads. I do not know whether these practices are still followed.

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[1] Falls of the Cavery, 1834, p. 49.

174 to the Nilgiris, and the extensive slaughter of sambhar which
262 followed it, that the Todas have thought of eating the flesh of
this animal, and as no prohibition against the eating of its
825 flesh has been handed down to them, they have no reluctance
in satisfying in this way the liking for animal food which the
erkumptthpimi ceremony keeps in existence, if it does not
actually stimulate it.

231 *The Cat.*—This animal, which is called *koti* or *kwoti*, is
825 domesticated by the Todas. The cat is mentioned in the legend of the tiger recorded in this section, and the earliest writers on the Todas speak of them as keeping these animals. I have seen them on the walls of the dairies, and believe that they are allowed to go wherever they please. The only occasion on which they come into ceremonial is at the *erkumptthpimi* sacrifice, where the spleen is specially put aside to be given to the cat, and is on this account called *kwotinerüf.*

The dog occurs in the story of Kwoten and several other animals are mentioned in the prayers and incantations, chiefly as sources of danger to the buffaloes. In the incantation for the relief of headache given on p. 265, the names of many animals are uttered, probably with the intention that their heads may acquire the pain which is being charmed away from the head of the sufferer.

TREES AND PLANTS

778 The most sacred tree of the Todas is undoubtedly the *tudr*
824 (Fig. 58). This name is given by the Todas to two species, *Meliosma pungens* and *M. wightii*, the two trees resembling one another closely.

The bark is largely used in the dairy ceremonial, and especially in the ordination ceremonies of the *palol* and other dairymen drawn from the Teivaliol and Melgarsol. Its use is especially connected with the people of these sections of the Toda community, but the rest of the Tartharol undergo a ceremony at the second funeral in which *tudr* is used, and this was said to have the purpose that every Toda should be purified with *tudr* before he enters on the future life.

A log and leaves of *tudr* are also used in the ceremony of

778 *erkumptthpimi*, and here it is used by both Teivaliol and
824 Tartharol alike.

The leaves of *tudr* used in any of these ceremonies must be perfect, and the bark must be knocked off the tree by means of

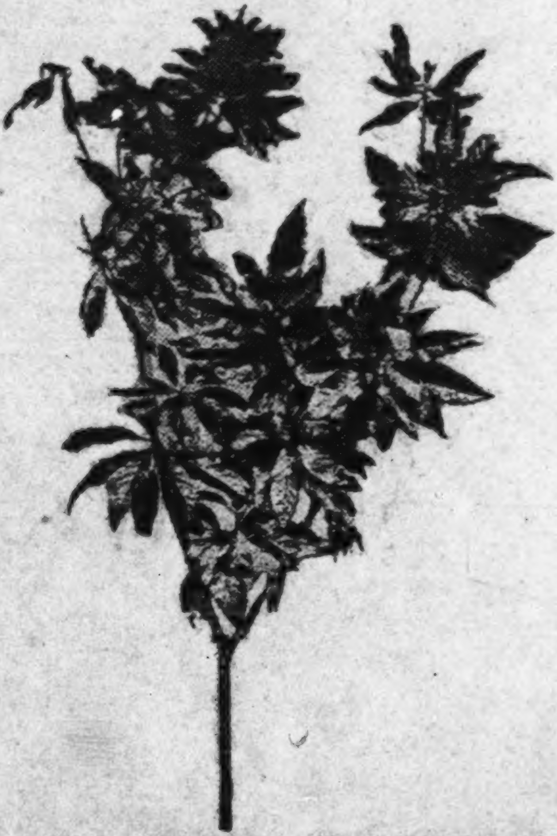

FIG. 58.—BOUGH OF THE 'TUDR' TREE. (From Marshall.)

a stone, this being one of the Toda practices which show the persistence of stone implements in ceremonial. The identity of this sacred tree is important, for it may furnish a clue to the home of the Todas. So sacred a tree would almost certainly have been already known to the Todas when

they reached the Nilgiris, though it is, of course, possible 778
that it might have been chosen on account of its resemblance 824
to some tree sacred in their past history. The tree has, however, a wide distribution in India.

Pope has suggested that *tudr* is connected with *tulasi*, *Ocymum sanctum* or holy basil. This is a small flowering plant, and it is improbable that there is any connexion between the two plants except a resemblance in name.

Another tree which appears to be especially sacred is the *kiaz* tree (*Litsæa Wightiana*). Whenever a tree is used to mark the spot where the *mani* is laid during purificatory and other ceremonies, the tree must be of this kind. The wood of this tree is used when making fire for most sacred purposes.

The leaves of trees and shrubs are used in various branches of the dairy ritual. Those in most frequent use are various kinds called generically by the Todas *muli*, three of which belong to the genus Rubus. The young shoots of the same plants are used in the ordination ceremonies.

Grasses are also used in Toda ceremonial, and one of these, a slender grass called *kakar* (*Eragrostica nigra*) is used on several occasions, those of especial importance being the ordination of the Teivali *palikartmokh* and the sweeping of the threshold of the dairy by a girl at the migration ceremony. The same grass is also used in one of the methods adopted to promote speedy delivery in childbirth.

Of the various kinds of grain used by the Todas, that 824
called *patm* or *samai* (*Panicum miliare*) seems to be in most 177
frequent use in connexion with ceremonial, but it cannot be said to be sacred in any way. Barley (*kodj*) seems to have a peculiar place in Toda belief. The *tòratthadi* or cooking-vessel of the dairy may not be used for this grain, although any other kind may be boiled in it. On the other hand, three grains of barley are put into the mouth and three into the hair of a boy at the naming ceremony. In explanation I can only offer the surmise that barley is not cooked in the dairy vessel because its use by the Todas is an innovation, and that similarly the use of barley in the naming ceremony is also an innovation borrowed from the Badagas or some other tribe.

THE SUN, LIGHT, AND FIRE

778 There is no doubt that the sun is an object of reverence to
718 the Todas. It is the duty of every man when first he leaves
his hut in the morning to salute the sun by raising his hand
821 to his face in the *kaimukhti* salutation. The sun is also saluted by the *palol* as he comes out of his dairy to milk the buffaloes. All my informants were unanimous in saying that the salutation of the *palol* was both to the buffaloes and to the sun. The doors of the great majority of the dairies faced more or less in an easterly direction, so that the dairyman, on coming out of his dairy in the morning, would see the sun, and when the dairy had a different orientation, as at Mòdr, the *palol* had to turn so that he would perform the salutation looking eastward. At the afternoon ceremonial the salutation was performed in the same direction as in the morning, so that, so far as the salutation is performed to the sun, it would appear that it is to the place of the sun-rise rather than to the sun itself.

The sun plays a part in the ceremony which takes place when a woman goes to the seclusion-hut after childbirth, but there was some reason to think that this was due to the belief in the noxious influence of the mysterious body, Keirt, which is near the sun, and not to the influence of the sun itself. When performing the ceremony on leaving the seclusion-hut the woman faces the sun, and this may be an act of reverence, since now Keirt is no longer feared. It seemed quite clear that the moon is not saluted in the same way as the sun with the *kaimukhti* salutation. No salutation is paid at all to the new moon when it is first seen, but after a day or two, usually on the third day, it is the custom to bow down the head, so that the forehead rests on the corner of the *putkuli* lying on the ground. The salutation is that called *nersatiti* shown in Fig. 44. I only heard of one custom indicating reverence to the full moon. When the Todas throw away water on the day of the full moon, they do not throw it towards the moon, but away from it. Thus, if the moon is opposite the door of the hut, the people will go round to the back in order to throw the water there.

water there. Light is undoubtedly an object of reverence to 778
the Todas. Captain Harkness states that when the household 788
lamp is lighted in the evening, obeisance is paid to it by
bringing the right hand to the face, and this sign of reverence 373
is still shown. In the dairy ceremonial the lamp and the light 354
it gives are also undoubtedly reverenced, and lighting the
lamp is, as we have seen, an act of a ceremonial character.

In some cases the lamps used in the dairies are certainly very ancient and are believed to have come from Amnòdr, but it is clear that they are not reverenced merely on this account, for a lamp of modern origin would, when once consecrated, be treated with as much reverence as those which had come down from antiquity.

I did not learn that any sign of reverence is paid to fire, 372
but the fire of the dairy may undoubtedly be said to have a 778
sacred character. Whenever a new dairy is visited or an old
dairy is reconsecrated in connexion with the *pepkaricha* cere- 354
mony, fire is made afresh by friction. Once made, it was, so
far as I could learn, kept continuously alight; if on any
occasion the fire should go out, it would have to be made
again by friction. In the *ti* dairy there are two fireplaces,
one in which fire burns continuously, while the other is
lighted by brands transferred to it from the other, and the
lamp is lighted by a brand taken from this sacred fire. Here
it would almost appear as if the former fire had a profane
character, so that it would be regarded as desecration to light
the sacred lamp directly from it.

The fire of the *tòratthwaskal* is used to cook food which has come from outside, and the use of an intermediate fire to light the lamp is in keeping with the general law of the procedure of the *ti* dairy, according to which the sacred objects are prevented from all possible contamination from the outer world by employing vessels or other objects as intermediaries.

Fire has also to be made by friction in other ceremonies, 372
and especially at those called *teutütusthchi* and *erkumptthpimi*
and at the funerals of males. At the first ceremony the fire
is made by the *palol*, and at the second by the dairyman con-
ducting the ceremony. At the *azaramkedr* of a man the fire
is made by a man of the same clan as the deceased, and this

372 is probably also the case at the first funeral ceremony. I did not definitely ask whether fire by friction is ever made by a woman, but I am fairly confident that this would never happen.

I only heard of one case in which men were prohibited from making fire. The Kidmadol and Karshol, who suffer under several disabilities, are not allowed to make fire by friction, and this is due to a quarrel with their parent-clan many years ago.

Whenever fire is made for a sacred purpose[1] the fire-sticks must be of the wood which the Todas call *kias* or *keadj*, except in the *tesherst* ceremony, in which the wood of *muli* is used.

There are also definite regulations as to the kind of wood which is to be burnt in the fires of all ceremonial occasions. In various ceremonies I have recorded the Toda names of the woods prescribed, and if more were known about their identity, it is possible that some light might be thrown on the original home of the Todas, in the same way as has been suggested in the case of the sacred *tudr* tree.

STONES

778 487 211 The Todas have many stones which may be held to have some degree of sanctity; certainly many have their place in the religious ceremonial. All these stones have names, either general or individual, but two stones with the same name need not necessarily have the same function.

At the *ti* there are stones marking the spots where the dairy vessels are taken up and put down during the migration ceremonies, but the most interesting stones at these dairies are those called *neurzülnkars*. At several dairies these stones are anointed, and their appearance indicates that they have undergone the process for very long periods of time; at other places they are so weathered and worn away that they must obviously be of great antiquity. At some dairies of the Nòdrs *ti* these stones take the place of the head of the *kaltmokh* in the ceremonies accompanying migration, but at other places they are said to have different uses.

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[1] For the special method employed see p. 581.

At an ordinary village the stones usually belong to one of the following classes:— 778

(*a*) Stones to mark off boundaries or places, such as the *majvatvaikars*, marking the path or spot used by the women in fetching buttermilk from the dairy. 487 211

(*b*) Stones used in the ceremonies in which offerings are made, the *irnörtkars* and the *pilinörtkars*.

(*c*) Funeral stones, at which the buffaloes are killed. These are, of course, only found at funeral villages, but there are certain other stones, such as the *imudrikars*, which may be found in any village. Such a stone may mark the spot where the body is laid, or may even, as in the case of the *imudrikars* of Kars, form a mound on which the body is laid.

(*d*) Stones in or near the *tu* or buffalo pen, such as the *mutchudkars* and *pudothkars*. I do not know the origin or use of these, but in some villages there are stones in the pen marking the places where the *mu* or dairy vessels are buried, and it is possible that the above stones are in some way connected with the buried dairy-vessels.

(*e*) The lifting stone or *tukitthkars*. This is usually a large round stone which sometimes resembles in appearance stones of a ceremonial character.[1]

(*f*) Commemorative stones. The *teidrtolkars* of Nòdrs (see Fig. 13), and certain stones with the same name lying between Nòdrs and Teidr, had their origin in events connected with the death of a man belonging to the village of Teidr who was once *wursol* at Nòdrs. When he was told to milk one of the buffaloes, he replied, "If I milk it, the milk will not fill this place," pointing to a small depression on his thumb. Still the people told him to milk, and when he did so the milking-vessel was completely filled. Then the *palikartmokh* was very angry, and, taking the wand which the *wursol* was carrying, he struck him so that he flew in the air and fell down midway between Nòdrs and Teidr. When the people came to the place they found that the man was dead, and they tried to take up his body and carry it to the funeral place. But 211 778 773

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[1] Burton (*Goa and the Blue Mountains*, p. 316) brands the Todas as inveterate liars, because, evidently owing to some misunderstanding, he was told that a "putting stone" was the "grandfather of the gods."

211 the body would not move and so they held the funeral on the
773 spot and made a *tu*. At the entrance of the *tu* they placed
two women carrying pounders[1] in place of the posts or *tüli*,
778 and these women were changed into stones and their pounders became the *tasth* of the entrance of the pen. The stones which are now found on the spot are the remains of the pen and the *teidrtolkars* of Nòdrs marks the spot where the *wursol* milked the buffalo.

In the village of Tovalkan there is a mound shown in Fig.

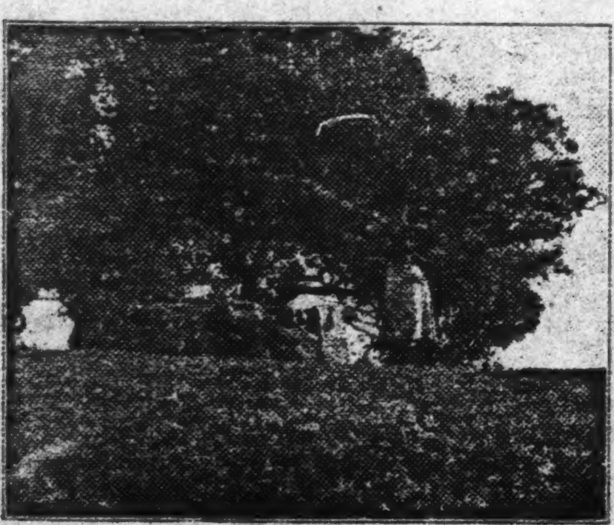

FIG. 59.—THE MEMORIAL OF KEIREVAN.

59 which is much like the *imudrikars* of Kars, but it is of modern origin, having been made to mark the spot where Keirevan (26) fell out of a tree and was killed.

(*g*) Stones connected with special features of the dairy ceremonial. I only know of one stone of this kind at a village, the *pârsatthkars* of Nidrsi, on which the *palikartmokh* puts milk every morning and evening.

778 Stones are often used for more than one purpose; thus, the

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[1] It will be remembered that at the *azaramkedr* of a woman, two women stand at the entrance of the *azaram* one of whom holds a pounder in her hands.

irnörtkars of Umgas (see Fig. 72) is also a boundary stone, and the *menkars* of Nòdrs (see Fig. 12) used for the game called *narthpimi*, and the *teidrtolkars* at the same village are also funeral stones at which buffaloes are killed.

778

I have given a brief list of the chief stones which may be called sacred owing to their coming in one way or another into Toda ceremonial, but I should like to make it clear that no great idea of sanctity attaches to these stones, and in no case are they shown any definite signs of veneration or worship. They, and many of the other objects described in this chapter, are not sacred in the same sense in which the *etudmad* or the *mani* are sacred.

buffalo after the death of his wife, some said it was given to 769
the gods, while others said it was given to Teitnir's grand- 771
fathers, and when I tried to inquire more definitely into this
point the two things were said to be the same. The ideas of the 776
Todas seemed to me, however, to be so indefinite and vague on this point that I am inclined to attach little importance to this one piece of evidence.

Against the identification of gods with ancestors is the fact [775]
that the dead go to another world, and are believed to return to this world after a long interval as ordinary mortals, while most of the gods belong to this world and are believed to have belonged to this world before death came to either gods or men.

There is little to support the idea that the gods are personi- 771
fications of the forces of nature. There is no evidence what- 776
ever that any of the gods are personifications of the sun, of other heavenly bodies, of thunder, lightning, or other elemental forces.

We have already seen that there is evidence that light is reverenced, and that this reverence extends to the sun, and it is probable that definite worship of the sun may at one time have formed a prominent part of the religion of the Todas. But there is not the slightest evidence which would lead to the identification of any one of the Toda deities with the sun.

There is no evidence of phallic worship among the Todas. One of the *ti* villages in the Kundahs is known to the European inhabitants of the Nilgiris as "Ling mand," but the supposed Ling stone at this place is evidently a *neurzülnkars*.[1]

In the last chapter we have seen that it has been supposed 776
that divinity attaches to some of the sacred objects of the 778
Todas, and especially to the dairy and the *mani* or bell. I cannot say definitely that the dairy and the bell are not regarded as gods, but I do not believe that they are so, and, as I have endeavoured to show in the last chapter, I think it probable that the sanctity of the bell has arisen by a gradual

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[1] I had no Toda with me when I visited the place, so cannot speak with absolute certainty on the point.

776 778 process of transference of sanctity from the buffalo to the object worn by it, and I think it not unlikely that this transference may have reached its full development in comparatively recent times.

If my view be accepted, it would still leave open the religious status of the buffalo, and especially of the bell-buffalo, and here, scanty as the evidence is, it seems to me probable that the buffalo was never regarded as a god in the same sense in which this word is used for the anthropomorphic beings of the hill-tops. In the oldest legends, in which the buffaloes spoke like men, it is clear that they were in subjection to the gods, and were in no way regarded as themselves divine.

776 793 Some writers on the Todas have supposed that the *palol* is regarded as a god, but at the present time it is certain that he is in no way divine. He is treated with respect, but nothing of the nature of worship or adoration is paid to him. His position among the Todas is exactly that of a priest upon whom it is incumbent to maintain a very high degree of ceremonial purity. That his isolation is not a sign of divinity is, I think, shown by the results of infringement of his isolation. If the *palol* is touched by an ordinary man he loses his office and at once ceases to be a sacred personage, but the person who touches incurs no penalty. The sacrilege, according to Toda ideas, would attach not to him, but to the *palol* who, in spite of being touched, should persist in performing the duties of his office.

174 776 793 Whether the *palol* may ever have been more sacred in the past I cannot say. An indication that he may at one time have been regarded as divine is to be found in the special clauses of the Kiudr prayer which are uttered on the occasion of the migration of the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti*. Here the *kwarzam* of the *palol* is *eupalol*, which stands for *teupalol*, or "god palol," but in the next *kwarzam* the same prefix is given to his garment, the *tuni*, and I have little doubt that these *kwarzam* simply refer to the sanctity which attaches to the *palol* and his garment as part of the sacred institution of the *ti*. There is no doubt, however, that, according to tradition, the gods held the office of *palol* and that the *palol* of the

In the process of divination men are possessed by gods; 776
and another example of possession by the gods may be 234
mentioned here, as I have not found a suitable place for it elsewhere. If any of the gods should sit on the back of a buffalo, the animal will go to the hill called Kûrâtvan, near Neduvattam, and this is said to have happened to two buffaloes in recent times. A buffalo which goes to this hill is allowed to find its own way back, and, provided the buffalo goes only to *etudmad*, its course will not be interfered with. One of the two buffaloes above-mentioned travelled back by way of Taradr, a place called Panmtu, Nòdrs, Miuni, and then went to its own village.

In the chapter on divination I have pointed out that many 776
of the deities who inspire the diviners are not true Toda gods, 787
and this suggests that the practice of divination may have
been borrowed from surrounding peoples, in which case 177
caution would be needed in drawing conclusions from the beliefs associated with the practice. I believe, however, that the information given to me on this point is based on recent utterances of the *teuol* themselves when in a state of frenzy. Each *teuol* was asked by whom he was inspired, and I think it not unlikely that the answers were influenced by the recent associations of the Todas.

At the present time none of the gods are ever seen by 776
mortals. As we have already found, the hills where they are 778●
supposed to dwell are, in some cases, regarded with reverence;
but I obtained no evidence that the Todas avoid the summits 823
even of those hills where the most important deities are supposed to be, though unfortunately I omitted to put this to the test by asking any of the more scrupulous Todas to accompany me to these places. The god-inhabited hills, however, are, in most cases, the sites of cairns and barrows, and the whole experience of those who have excavated these sites seems to show that the Todas exhibit no special reluctance to visit these dwelling-places of the gods.

I think that there can be little doubt that most of the indi- 776
vidual gods of the Todas are becoming very unreal beings to those who talk of them. The stories of the earlier gods are now being forgotten, and the ideas of the Todas about them are

771 788 by custom and tradition, and on the religious side this domination has taken a form in which ritual has become all-important, while the religious ideas which underlie the ritual have become blurred and unreal or have disappeared altogether. It seems to me that the Todas have had a religion of a comparatively high order for people living in such simple circumstances. During a long period of isolation there has come about an over-development of the ritual aspect of this religion. Year after year, and century after century, the priests have handed on the details of the ceremonial from one to another. The performance of the prescribed rites in their due order has become the all-essential of the religion and the ideas connected with it have suffered. This is shown most clearly in the prayers, in which we have seen that the prayer proper has gradually come to take a relatively subordinate position, and is even in danger of disappearing altogether, while the importance of the *kwarzam* by which the sacred objects of the dairy are mentioned has been magnified. The dairy utterances, which were probably at one time definite prayers calling on the gods for help and protection, are now on their way to become barren and meaningless formulæ.

771 778 782 786 182 Just as the prayer of the Todas seems to have almost degenerated into the utterance of barren formulæ, so is there reason to believe that the attitude of worship which is undoubtedly present in the Toda mind is becoming transferred from the gods themselves to the material objects used in the service of the gods. I acknowledge that I am here on less sure ground than in the case of the dairy formulæ, but the general impression left on my mind by the study of the beliefs and sacred institutions of the Todas is that the religious attitude of worship is being transferred from the gods themselves to the objects round which centres the ritual of the dairy. If I am right in these surmises, we find the Todas to possess a religion in process of degeneration. I do not suppose that this degeneration has been in progress only during the short time that the Todas have been exposed to the injurious contact of the outer world. The study of the Toda religion makes it seem to me most probable that the Todas came

771 to the Nilgiri Hills with a religion of a higher order than they
778 possess at present, with a developed system of gods who were
782 believed to direct and govern the affairs of men, and that by
788 a long and slow process these gods have become unreal, the
182 supplications of the people for their guidance and assistance
have become mechanical, and worship has been transferred from gods, not to stocks and stones, but to bells and dairy vessels.

771 At the present time it would seem that even the ritual of
788 the Toda religion is often carried out less carefully than of
old. Among the former occupants of dairy offices of whom I
182 made inquiries, I found some who gave accounts so full of inaccuracies and omissions that it seemed unlikely that they could have performed the duties of their offices in a satisfactory manner, and when I had the opportunity of observing parts of the dairy ritual it seemed to me that the ceremonial acts were performed by some of the dairymen in a very perfunctory and slovenly fashion. We have already seen that some of the features of Toda ritual have entirely disappeared, and it seems not unlikely that the same fate may overtake the whole at no great distance of time.

183 In the case of both custom and ritual, the Todas are
771 now often content if they keep the letter of the law, and
several examples of the evasion of ceremonial laws have been
784 recorded. We have seen that several of the laws concerning the *madnol* are certainly not kept in the spirit, and only by a stretch of imagination, in the letter. A woman evades the law that she may not leave the village on the *madnol* by leaving it before daybreak and returning after daybreak till her work is done. A man takes money out on the day before the *madnol* and, burying it elsewhere, is able to carry out business which the spirit of the law forbids. In ceremonies, ritual duties which involve discomfort or restraint are assigned to young boys, to whom the restraint is no restraint. A man goes near the *palol* whom properly he should not approach, but since he does not speak nor is spoken to, he is regarded as ceremonially absent.

Objects of value which should be burnt for the use of the dead are sent to the next world ceremonially by swinging

764 The pounder, sieve, and broom are burnt at the funerals of
775 women, who use the pounder on their journey to the other
world. A special kind of sieve called *kudshmarn* is also
burnt at the *azaramkedr*, but I believe that this is burnt at
all funerals, both of males and females.

171 The pounder, sieve, and broom are widely endowed with
magical properties, and this is especially the case in India,[1]
● 778 but I do not know of any other instance in which they are
especially regarded as the emblems of woman.

WEAPONS

411 At the present time it cannot be said that the Todas use
796 any weapons, but they retain in their ceremonies weapons
which were, no doubt, formerly in use. These are the club
764 and the bow and arrow.

178 The club only remains in the funeral ceremonies, in which
it is called *nanmakud* (see Fig. 67), and is burnt at the
azaramkedr, and several other special sticks are also burnt,
which may have been of the nature of clubs.

[177] The bow and arrow have left more traces of their former
importance. They are burnt at the *azaramkedr* of a man,
and the weapons for this purpose are provided by the Kotas.
The bow and arrow are also used in the *koltiti* ceremony of
411 a Tarthar funeral. In the *pursütpimi* ceremony the husband
796 gives an imitation bow and arrow to his wife. The bow gives
its name to the ceremony and its gift forms the essential
incident of the ceremony. Further, the bow has a special
name different for each clan. The use of an arrow lingers in
name in other ceremonies. In the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony,
the knife used for cutting up the sacrificed calf is called *ab*, or
arrow. In the ceremony of *tersammptpimi* a lock of hair is cut
from a young child with a piece of sharpened iron called
kanab, or "eye arrow," but this name is only in use among the
411 Tartharol. The use of these words seems to point to a time
when iron-tipped arrows were used as cutting instruments,
174 and it is even possible that this is a survival of a time when
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[1] See Crooke's *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, 1896, vol. ii. pp. 187-191.

One day I observed a stone near the village of Pakhalkudr, 526
and, asking whether it was for tip-cat, was told of a different game. If a man jumped high enough at the stone, he could see the top of a certain hill. On jumping at the stone I could not see the hill, but by going a little way back, I found that it became visible, and as far as I could judge, the jump necessary at the stone would be a possible though a good performance.

At many villages there is a large globular stone called 147
tukitthkars (lifted stone) and in another of the Toda games 526
this stone is lifted. A man should be able to lift it to the shoulder, but this can now rarely, if ever, be done, and some 778
of the stones can only be lifted a little way from the ground. Mr. Thurston saw the stone at Nòdrs lifted as high as the pit of the stomach. These stones seem to afford clear evidence of the degeneration of the Todas in physical strength. There is little doubt that they could be lifted much better by the Todas of a generation or two ago. Thus there is a stone at Nidrsi which was brought by the grandfather of Kudrmaskutan (43) in the pocket of his *putkuli* from a place called Attibadi at a considerable distance from Nidrsi. At the present time no Toda can do more than lift the stone a little way from the ground. The *tukitthkars* may not be lifted either on the *madnol* or the *palinol*. Feasts are prohibited on these days, and it is probable that the stone was often lifted on festive occasions. There is evidence that, in some places at any rate, the stone has acquired in some degree a sacred character. Thus, at the village of Kiudr, one of the most sacred of Toda dairies, the *tukitthkars* lies on a raised wall surrounding the dairy and in this situation would most certainly acquire some of the sanctity of its surroundings.

The Todas are very interested in athletic feats performed 517
by any of their number and sometimes put up memorials of 526
such feats. Thus, at Pishkwosht there are two stones marking 211
the distance once jumped by a Toda. Such an athletic feat may be made the subject of a bet. Thus, four generations ago, 525
one of the ancestors of Kudrmaskutan (43) jumped a stream
called Kavageir, winning eighteen *nakh* (three-year-old 137

people live. The wall then passes at the back of the *poh* and 621
runs for some distance northward. The *tarvali* (in Fig. 12) 351
is situated in an enclosure of the wall near the dwelling-huts,
so that the women can go to it for buttermilk without 234
crossing the wall and entering the enclosure in which the
poh stands. In the south part of the wall is the gap through
which the calf is driven at the *irnörtiti* ceremony (see Fig. 43).
The wall is reputed to have been built by Elnakhum.

Close to the *poh*, between it and the *tarvali*, are the ruins of another dairy, the former *kudrpali*, which is said to have had seven rooms. It was disused on account of the difficulty in obtaining the services of a *kudrpalikartmokh*. It will be remembered that this grade of dairyman has to do his work without any covering, and in the bleak exposed position of Nòdrs, it seems that this was so great a hardship that the office went begging. The Nòdrs people are said to have ceased to use this dairy about four generations ago, and the condition of the ruins is about what might be expected if this statement were correct.

There are a large number of important stones at Nòdrs. 211
Formerly seven kinds of buffalo were killed at the funeral of 621
a male, and each was killed at a different stone. Now only
two buffaloes may be killed, but the stones remain to show 778
what was formerly done. Two *wursulir* were killed, one at the
stone called *uteiks* and another at the stone *nerovkars*, both
of which are shown in Fig. 70. One *nashperthir* was killed
at the *nashperthkars*. The two sacred *mani* were hung
on the necks of one of the *wursulir* and the *nashperthir*.
One *pineipir* was killed at the stone called *tukervòrskars*.
One *persasir* was killed at the *persaskars*, and two *putiir* were
killed, one at the *teidrtolkars* and the other at the *menkars*.
The *teidrtolkars*, shown in Fig. 13, also marks the spot where
the unfortunate *wursol* milked his buffaloes (see p. 439). The
menkars, shown in Fig. 12, is the stone used in the game of
narthpimi, in which a boy creeps under a stone. It is on the
village side of the wall, close to the entrance to the *tarvali*.
All the other stones are on the same side of the wall as the
poh.

Òdr (Aganadmand). This is second in importance among 234
621

man, and the Todas tell how on one occasion two English 618
soldiers came to Pām and insulted the women and how 159
Karnisi took the two men unaided to the barracks at
Wellington.

Karnisi also spent a fortune which had been stored in the dairy of Pām for many generations. A vessel (*pun*) full of rupees had been deposited in the dairy by an ancestor of Karnisi called Kiuten. It remained there till Karnisi spent it in buying buffaloes, ornaments for his many wives and household goods. He gave some of the rupees away and spent others in travelling to Coimbatore, and in a short time the money had disappeared.

NIDRSI

The headquarters of the Nidrsi clan are to the south of 177
Coonoor. The people are closely surrounded by tea estates
and have been much influenced. It is not now a large clan, 618
having about sixteen male and twenty-five female members. 621

There are two *kudr*, headed by Todrigars (41) and Kudrmaskutan (43) respectively, each *kudr* having two *pòlm*. The chief men of the *pòlm* of one *kudr* are Puveners (40) and Todrigars, and of the other *kudr*, Kadrkutan (42) and Kudrmaskutan.

This clan affords a very good example of the degeneration 234
which has in some cases befallen the dairy organisation. The
people have only one *wursulir* left. The dairy (*wursuli*) has 618
fallen into ruins, and they have no *wursol* and, therefore, the one buffalo is not milked. At a funeral of a male they will have to procure a *wursol* from another clan to kill this buffalo.

There are two *mani*, called *Eshkiakudr* and *Eikudr*, each [778] ●
with an iron chain, but as they have no *wursuli* these bells are kept under a stone at Akirsikòdri, the male funeral village. The other sacred buffaloes, *pineipir*, &c., are milked at a *tarvali*.

There are now only four inhabited villages, and only one of 621
these seems to be of any importance.

Nidrsi. This is near the Badaga village of Hulikal. It

621 consists chiefly of huts obviously of recent construction and not of the proper Toda form. There is a small dairy (*tarvali*) and the situation of the former *wursuli*, almost completely overgrown, can still be seen. There is a buffalo enclosure called *Punatu*. The *irnörtkars* is a stone of ordinary appearance with other smaller stones round it, and there is also a *pilinörtkars* of which only a small piece now shows above the ground. There is a very large *tukitthkars* at this village (see pp. 252 and 597).

621 Another stone here is called *imudrikars* or *parsatthkars*.
Milk is put on it every morning and evening by the
778 *palikartmokh*, but it is not used in any way in connexion
609 with a funeral. The Todas relate that an Englishman shot at and splintered this stone some years ago. Soon after he was bitten by his horse, and he asked the Todas, with whom he was on very good terms, what ought to be done. He was told that he should perform the *irnörtiti* ceremony, and a few days later he brought a three-year-old calf to the *irnörtkars* at Nidrsi and gave it to the people. It was taken by both *kudr* and the Englishman was soon well again. The whole affair was regarded as a good joke, and is interesting as showing that the Todas do not object to making sport of one of their sacred ceremonies, especially when they gain an addition to their stock of buffaloes.

621 *Akirsikòdri*. This is the male funeral village, at which there is a dairy with three rooms, in which the body of a dead man is placed on the day of the *etvainolkedr*.

MELGARS

184 The Tarthar clan which takes its name from the village of
618 Melgars occupies a very special position in the Toda social
organisation and in the dairy ceremonial. Although a
234 Tarthar clan, the Melgarsol in many respects resemble the
554 Teivaliol much more closely than they resemble the other
clans of their own division.

In former times the Melgarsol are said to have held the office of *palol* at the Kars *ti* and at the Pan *ti*, and to have lost this privilege owing to misbehaviour of a *palol*, of which

618 would thus be twelve *pòlm.* This is not consistent with the
621 information given in connexion with the *pepkaricha* ceremony (see p. 169), from which it appears that there are fifteen heads of families in the Kuudrol. It may be that the *pòlm* and family do not correspond with one another, or there may be some other explanation of the discrepancy.

The following are the chief villages of the Kuudrol:—

Kuudr (Kundakodumand). This is a large village with substantial huts in the Tamil style which have been built by Kuriolv. There is a large dairy, the *tudrpali*, and a smaller dairy, the *kidpali*, in front of it, with two buffalo enclosures (*tu*), one apparently for each dairy. In the large *tu* there are three stones called *keinkars*, *tashtikars* and *mutchudkars*, all of ceremonial importance (see p. 169). Growing in one side of the *tu* there is a tree called *teikhuwadiki*, under which the *mu* is buried.

[312] As usual, water is taken from two sources, and at Kuudr that used for sacred purposes is drawn from a spring, called *kiznir.* The origin of this spring has been already given in connexion with the prayer of Kuudr, in which this and other events in the history of the village are commemorated. The special relations between Kuudr and Òdr have been already considered in the account of the latter village.

234 *Kiudr* (Kengodumand). This village has a somewhat
621 anomalous position in that, though not the chief village of its
● 778 clan from the social point of view, it is in many ways more sacred than Kuudr.

[342] It is a very picturesque village, shown in Fig. 7, in which there are two dwelling-huts. That shown in the figure is one of the largest and best constructed of existing Toda huts, having been rebuilt recently under the direction of Kijievan (50), who has a special reputation as an architect. It was at this village that a pregnant woman was not allowed to come to the hut, but had to remain at some little distance, and the sacredness of the hut is also shown by the fact that the prayer of this village provides the only instance in which the *kwarzam* of a hut occurs.

The dairy is situated at some little distance from the huts, quite out of sight of people at the latter. On going from the huts to the dairy a shallow stream flowing over broad flat stones is crossed. This stream is called *Keikudr*, and is of some ceremonial importance (see p. 307). 234 621 778

The dairy which is called *Kilpoh* is shown in Figs. 20 and 31, and is a large, well-built structure of the ordinary shape. It is situated within a high wall, which is much thicker than usual, and in front it must be several yards across, so that it is possible to walk about on the top of it. On this wall, on the right hand side, are two old stones (shown in Fig. 31), called *neurzülnkars*. Close to the dairy there are two ancient and weatherworn stones, shown in Fig. 32, to which the same name is given.

There are six bells in the dairy. Two are kept on the *patatmar* and are called *patatmani*, the individual names of the bells being *Mudrani* and *Kerani*. The other four are called *ertatmani*, and are kept on the *ertatmar*; their individual names are *Pongg*, *Nongg*, *Pundrths*, and *Pan*.

Kiudr is one of the villages which was said to have been at one time a *ti mad*. In favour of this is the fact that its dairy is called *poh* and that there are stones called *neurzülnkars* which are usually found at a *ti mad*. The people have also to play a part during the procession of the buffaloes of the Nodrs *ti*, and there seems to be little doubt that the village is in some way especially connected with the *ti* institution, though exactly how is uncertain.

Kiudr is certainly a village especially revered not only by the Kuudrol, but by all Todas. It is a *sati mad*, and any Toda will be believed if he speaks in front of its dairy. Another sign of the sanctity of the dairy is the fact that the ceremony of *pilinörtiti* may be performed here not only by members of the Kuudr clan, but also by any other Toda.

Molkush. This is a recently established village, little more than a quarter of a mile from Kiudr. The scenes shown in Figs. 16 and 17 were taken at this village. It has no dairy and the milk of the ordinary buffaloes is churned in the dwelling-hut. This village may be regarded as an adjunct to the sacred village of Kiudr, at which the ordinary buffaloes are tended. At the time of my visit the wife of one of the men who usually lived at Kiudr gave birth 621

616 that this ceremony is performed at a Tarthar funeral in order
765 to purify the Tartharol with *tudr* before they go to Amnòdr,
and the prominent position of the Teivaliol in this ceremony
184 is evidently due to the use of this sacred substance.

After a funeral the Tartharol in general shave their heads, and this is not done by the Teivaliol, but it is also not done by the Melgarsol, which shows that the difference is connected with the different relations of the two divisions to the dairy ritual.

184 One important difference between the funeral ceremonies
of the two divisions is that the *mani*, or sacred bell, is not
616 used by the Teivaliol, except by the Piedr clan, and in this
764 case the bell is hung on the neck of the buffalo about to
be slaughtered by a Tarthar man belonging to the Nòdrs
778 clan. The use of a *mani* at the funeral appears to be pre-
783 eminently a Tarthar custom.

A further distinction between the two divisions is a consequence of the last difference. The Teivaliol do not purify the dairy after the funeral ceremonies because nothing has been taken from the dairy to be defiled. Similarly, the fact that the Teivaliol and Melgarsol use a male buffalo calf for the ceremony of purifying the various funeral places is connected in some way with the use of *tudr* by these divisions, while the general body of the Tartharol who are not purified with *tudr* use the blood of an adult female buffalo.

It will thus be seen that there is definite reciprocity between the two divisions as regards certain funeral duties, while the differences between the procedures of the two divisions are largely, if not altogether, connected with the use of the *mani* among the Tartharol and of the *tudr* tree among the Teivaliol, and each of these are points at which the funeral ceremonies come into relation with the dairy ritual. The differences in funeral rites would seem to be chiefly due to the different organisation of the dairy and its ritual in the two divisions.

616 There are other ceremonies in which the duties of the two
divisions are reciprocal. In the ceremony of ear-piercing, a
796 Tarthar man pierces one ear of a Teivali boy and a Teivali
man performs the same service for a Tarthar boy, and in the
ceremony called *putkuli tâzâr ütiti* (see p. 503), a man

action. They rest satisfied that they *are* Gods. But with them, there is a tendency for everything mysterious or unseen
771 to ripen into Dêr; cattle, relics, priests, are, as we shall see,
776 confused in the same category, until it would seem that Dêr, like Swâmi, is truly an adjective-noun of eminence.

793 They fence in those who perform what they consider holy offices, with rigid rules of conduct. But such offices, although from their point of view, holy, can barely be held to be religious: more perhaps on the confines, affording us samples of the germs of religious belief and action and the growth of religion, from punctilious form.

771 They do not address supplications, or confessions of sin, to
782 any personal God, of whose attributes or power they enter-
778 tain an even approximately clear conception. They have no idols or images, either of loved and respected objects to be courted, or of dreaded beings to be appeased: whether ever-present, as in house or village, or to be casually met with in groves, at springs, or on hill sides. They make no oblations, beyond the act of eating periodically a little buffalo flesh,[1] displaying in its ceremonial, the rudimentary stage of sacrificial or festive observance. In fact they can scarcely be said to trouble themselves on the subject of religion proper.

771 I am not prepared to say that these people have actually
776 no God: for they acknowledge the existence of Ûsuru[2] Swâmi, the Lord above, the High God; but it will be perfectly evident to all who read through this book, that their conception of a Supreme Being is entirely without definition. Indeed almost at a stroke of the pen, I can show this to be the case; for, the reason having been given why the Pekkan clan had no 'holy place,' that it had no property: it was explained to

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[1] See Chapter VIII.

[2] Ûsuru. In Tamil y and s are constantly interchangeable. Thus uyir or uçir is *life*; uyaru and uçaru are *to be exalted, lifted up*. In Kanarese, uçar = *life, power*. There may be a connection with Sanskrit uccha = *high*. [POPE.]

000 think it ridiculous, or the knowledge of it superfluous to the rest of mankind. Far from its beliefs and practices being a rubbish-heap of miscellaneous folly, they are consistent and logical in so high a degree as to begin, as soon as even roughly classified, to display the principles of their formation and development; and these principles prove to be essentially rational, though working in a mental condition of intense and inveterate ignorance.'[1]

322 Our friends appear to *dream* buffalo. Sitting, apparently 532 'thinking of nothing at all,' a man will pick up a bit of cane or forked twig from the ground, and like the typical Yankee is supposed to whittle a stick while he speculates, so the Toda will employ himself for an hour at a time, splitting his bit of cane or rounding the little branches of his twig into the likeness of buffalo horns, as he muses. Children may be seen coming in from cattle-driving, with strings of these small horns. And these treasures are found lying about their houses and haunts. Two of them are shown in Photograph No. 15.

182 In the history of most, if not of all nations, savage and 771 civilised alike, we may trace the alliance, more or less intimate, 234 of religion, in its various rites and performances, with food; in its nature, source, or care, or in the occasions or symbols of its use. This correlation is certainly a marked feature in Toda customs. Though the Todas have no actual religion or system of faith leading to the performance of duties to a God, yet they hold to certain practices and certain habits in daily life, which are to them in the place of a religion; being performed with all the strictness and certainty that should be bestowed on sacred observances.

234 These performances or habits are intimately allied with 778 the care and distribution of the *divine fluid*—milk. The buffalo is to a certain degree held sacred, as being the

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[1] Tylor, 'Primitive Culture,' vol. i. p. 21.

CHAP. XIII. chief gift of the Gods: and the fountain of all milk. Hence
they hold the care and milking of these animals and the charge
234 of the dairy, to be amongst the highest and most respected
778 offices. The buffalo is treated with great kindness, even with
[198] a degree of adoration, by the people; scarcely touched with
the light wands they carry, but guided and called by a sort of
buffalo-language which they understand, and obey with some
intelligence.

177 But they give away the young bulls to the Kotas. It has
234 been a question whether or not they ever eat the flesh them-
262 selves, and I experienced much difficulty in ascertaining what
431 I now believe to be the truth; that they part with the bulls,
because, whilst they will not eat the flesh, they cannot permit
them to crowd on land required for the grazing of the cows.
That they do not sell them, may no doubt be in part attributable to the uncommercial nature of their dispositions. But I think it also possible that the Badagas and Kotas work on the sense of respect for the animal, which the Todas are known to entertain, to make it a custom not to dispose of the buffalo for money. Although it is certain that no Toda will eat buffalo flesh unless in part of the ceremonial described in Chapter VIII., yet, curiously enough, they do not hesitate to mortgage even the cows to the Badagas, though knowing that in such an act, the chance must always exist of the animal's being seized for the non-fulfilment of the terms of the bond; when of course it would be impossible to say what would become of them.

234 There exists a marked connection between the buffalo and
778 the chief material objects to which any form of religious service
is paid; viz., certain ancient cattle-bells, which originally came
from amnôr, and though only cattle-bells—konku—yet by
virtue of a great antiquity are now venerated as Gods, and
styled konku Dêr or maṇi Dêr.[8] This is the Toda faith.

Every village drove does not own a bell, but certain bell-

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[8] Konku dêr = *bell-god*, maṇi dêr = *relic-god*. See Chapter XVII., note 6.

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778

cows of the sacred herds only, which are attached to the holy Mands, termed tiriêri.[a] The size of the droves varies, from accidental circumstances, between the numbers 10 and 60: and somewhat in proportion to the dimensions of the herds, from one to three bell-gods belong to a tiriêri.

The bell-cows, for whom, by the way, the Todas have no specific name, are not selected on account of their good milking qualities, their size or beauty, but are the descendants in direct female line from certain originals whose early history has been lost. I have the following information on the subject from the highest authority; viz., a priest of the tiriêri, styled pâlâl, retired from the active business of his calling. He told me that no matter how old and worthless the bell-cow might become, the bell belonged to her till she died: when, without fail, it was transferred to her daughter. Moreover, that if the mother should have left no such female issue, a bell-cow would be procured from one of the other tiriêris: or the holy Mand would itself be broken up, and the entire herd amalgamated with that of some tiriêri still possessing a bell-cow.

The bell-god is never worn by the bell-buffalo, but is always kept in the priest's house; no one but a man of that office being permitted to touch or even to see it.

The same holy man who gave me the above information, also described the installation of a new bell-cow. Twice a day, morning and evening, for three successive days, the priest waves the bell with his right hand, round and round the head of the bovine heiress, talking to it the while, much as follows:

What a fine cow your predecessor was!
How well she supported us with her milk!
Won't you supply us in like manner?
You are a God amongst us!

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[a] Tiriêri = *holy place.* Tira or tiri is the recognised Drâvidian corruption of the Sanskrit shri = *holy, sacred.*

Ari or iri, from the Drâvidian root, which is variously written ir, ur = *be, exist.* Ur = *a village*, is from the same root. [POPE.]

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Don't let the tiriêri go to ruin!
Let one become a thousand!
Let all be well!
Let us have plenty of calves!
Let us have plenty of milk!

During three days and nights the bell is kept fastened round the cow's neck. On the morning of the third day it is removed from her neck, and lodged in the priest's house. It is never worn again during that cow's lifetime.

The entire tiriêri herd is far more sacred than any of the ordinary village droves of buffalos, and the bell-cows are infinitely more sacred than any other cows of the sacred drove. So far as I could ascertain: whilst the bell-cow is the direct lineal descendant, from mother to daughter, from some remote but sacred ancestor, the remainder of the tiriêri herd are the offspring of some original drove, whose members are probably related to the bell-cows.

A certain number of bulls are retained in the sacred herd; those male calves which are not wanted being given away to the Kotas. The finer animals are retained. When a young bull has arrived at mature age, and has proved his vigour, he undergoes a process of sanctification before he is permanently installed; by being isolated for a day and night in a small pen in the sacred woods of the tiriêri, during which time he is deprived of food, though allowed access to water. He is not a very sacred character. In fact it is permissible to introduce a bull from an ordinary drove, after due sanctification.

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It appears to me as somewhat remarkable that a people so fond of simple regulation and undeviating rule, should permit the principle of female succession amongst their cattle, whilst maintaining agnate law amongst themselves. I cannot admit the contrast between the two systems to be merely the result of accident. Knowing the direct simplicity and good sense of

234 member of the male community, and I have little doubt, to
788 every inquisitive woman also. That these performances have
hitherto remained unknown to the English public, arises from
the simple cause, that they have not been carefully enquired
[124] into. I have before stated that the people do not talk freely
on subjects they hold to be sacred; from some feeling of awe
or reverence. But, if spoken to quietly, they will be found to
be like sieves, and to reveal everything they know.

173 The simplicity of their faith and the crudeness of their rites is
such, that the circumstance of their traditions being handed
234 down by memory, is deprived of any element of the wonderful,
788 more especially so when it is remembered that the entire detail
of each tradition is known throughout the tribe. Notwithstanding, nothing is more possible than that names, rites, and
traditions, transmitted in such fashion, may undergo a certain
degree of change in the course of generations. How can
there be mysteries without a permanent priesthood?

795 Not only pâlâls but kâvilâls also, though mostly married
793 men, yet live celibate lives, separating themselves from family
778 and relations during the period of their holy vocations. The
pâlâl, as being by far the more sacred, may be touched by no
one on earth but a pâlâl, not even by his fellow-labourer and
servant, the kâvilâl. The breath even of a human being is
defilement—not so that of a buffalo—men must therefore
keep at a respectful distance; which appears to be about five
yards. Women are not permitted to *approach* either tiriêri
or holy men. Even the pâlâl's father must bow down before
him. *He is a God*, and for the time loses his personal name,
being known only as the pâlâl of such a tiriêri.

554 These sacred characters may however resign their posts
793 when they tire of their solitude, so soon as a substitute can be
found willing to devote himself to the life of celibacy and
privation. And the pâlâl may become man again, by the simple
process of setting aside his black mantle: though he retains

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

N°. 15
Opp. p. 138

411
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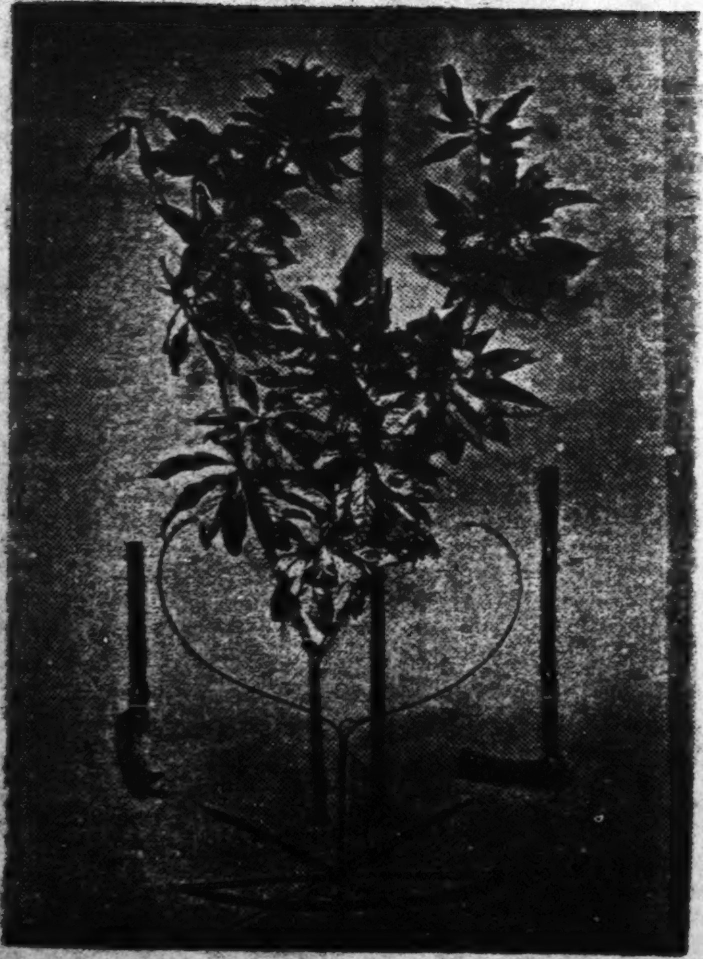

AUTOTYPE, LONDON.

THE TUDE OR SACRED BUSH.

WEAPONS, BOW & ARROW, USED AT WEDDINGS & FUNERALS.

IMITATION BUFFALO HORNS.

CHAP. XIV.

137 778 824 Though the proper meaning of the word tûde, is simply a bush; yet taken in connection with its use for sanctifying purposes, it may be held to imply that it is *the* bush above all others. It is a very common little tree on these hills, fragile, and by all accounts, possessing no remarkable properties in flower, seed, or sap. I am indebted to the courtesy of Lieutenant-Colonel Beddome, Conservator of Forests, for its botanic names, viz., *Meliosma simplicifolia*, alias *Millingtonia*.

Dr. Hooker, Director of the Kew Gardens, has obliged me with the following valuable information as to the diffusion of the tree; a point on which I have been desirous to obtain the most reliable account, hoping that the localities might form geographical links by which the Todas might be traced to other tribes within or beyond the boundaries of Hindustan. 'The distribution of the plant,' Dr. Hooker is so good as to write, 'is Western and Eastern Himalaya, from Simla eastward. Khassia, Silhet, and Mishmi hills in Assam. From the Concan to Courtallam in the western Peninsula. It certainly does not inhabit Persia, the Caucasus, or South Russia, and probably not even Beluchistan.'

174 783 824 778 It was important to establish, if the race of which the Todas form a tribe, brought with them from Western Asia the use of the tûde, the *Millingtonia*. It would now seem probable that they brought with them, merely, the already established practice of self-purification with a sacred plant, and not finding in the country of their adoption that which they had been accustomed to use when in their own land, they elected the tûde in its place. If the views expressed in the last chapter, as to the antiquity of the rules of cattle inheritance—making the bell-cow a descendant by the female line from some remote ancestor—be considered of value, then some degree of support is also afforded to show the collateral practice of purification by the use of a sacred plant, to be also very ancient.

000 It would be interesting to know if other broken tribes of the pre-Âryan—Drâvidian—race, now living in various tracts

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is a bamboo joint, used as a pail to contain milk, 'I go out to
my buffalos. They are all expecting to be milked, and turn
234 towards me as I stand at the gate of the pen. I salute them
788 by holding the wand in the right hand, with the honnu
793 hanging from the fingers of the same hand. I bring the whole
to my forehead.' Here rising, with stick in hand and my penknife thrust between his fingers, he enacted the pantomime of saluting the sacred herd. Moving his body on his legs as a pivot, he turned slowly from right to left in silence, describing a small arc of a circle, as if to include the whole of a herd standing crowded in the fold before him. He did so without bowing, keeping his body nearly erect throughout, and without speaking.

Noticing his silence, he replied to my enquiry, 'I do not, like the common people in the Mands, say danenma, mokh ultama, and all the rest of it. No, and I don't say nin arzbini.'[1] He is now a God, and quite the superior of any buffalo.

'I alone, or if the drove is large, assisted by a fellow-pâlâl, milk the cattle—the kâvilâl may not do so—lodging the honnus of milk in the dairy.

778 'On entering the inner room of the dairy, I go up to the
788 bells, and dipping my hand into the milk'—here makes a
793 little cup of the top joints of his fingers—'pour a few drops
on each bell three times, muttering with each libation the
776 names of the following Gods:—

Ânmungâno Godingâtho
Beligoshu Dekulâria
Kazudâva.'

The pâlâl being himself a God may with propriety mention the names of his *fellow-Gods*, a license which is permitted to no one else to do.

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[1] Nin arzbini = *I adore thee.* See Chapter XVII., on the êtud Mand, for the application of these words.

776 'These are good Gods, Gods of the whole Toda tribe, and
743 not Gods of my tiriêri only. I have never seen them. They
are invisible, but ever present with us.'

Can it be possible that the invisible—shapeless—nature of Toda Gods, is a conception occasioned by the deficient organ of Form, which I have already noted as being a cranial peculiarity of this people? *Was the faculty small with the Jews also?*

234 'I then proceed to make nei from the previous day's milk.
793 After which, I prepare my own and the kâvilâl's food. The
last thing at night is to replenish the lamp.'

778 There were three bell-gods in my informant's tiriêri. He
442 said that in some there were two, in another only one; but in
743 none more than three. Axes for cutting fuel are kept by the
kâvilâl in his own house in the tiriêri, apart from the dairy.
They are tabued to other people, and for other purposes.

771 I was careful to enquire from this man if the people in
372 saluting the sun and moon, and he in placing lights in the
tiriêri, worshipped light—belak, or fire—diṭth. The reply
was satisfactory; he distinctly repudiated the notion of the
adoration of fire.

778 It has been stated that the pâlâl may not be touched by
793 anyone on earth, save by a pâlâl, during the period of his
234 priesthood, not even by the kâvilâl. It will be seen by what
follows, that the kâvilâl also, though not to be compared with his master in point of sanctity—one indeed being a God, whilst the other is only a man—yet shares the exclusiveness of his life. He too has been sanctified by his influence of the tûde, and lives apart from the world: yet his office is of an inferior degree. He devotes his life to the duties of herding the cattle on the hill-sides, cutting firewood, et cetera: but he may not milk the cows, nor touch the relics, or approach within several paces of the pâlâl. Thus whilst he is an associate in the austere privations of the life to which he has devoted himself, yet does not participate in the glory of the office.

identity of character which forms the marked peculiarity of CHAP.
extremely primitive races, and common interests, are the XV.
watchwords. The whole tribe is of one mind, and as un- 000
changeable in disposition as a herd of dumb animals.

A certain amount of superstitious, or shall we say religious, 272
regard is paid to the article *milk*, and in a less degree to the 778 ●
honnu which holds it. Until of late years, milk would never 234
be adulterated. The honnu is tabued for ordinary purposes; indeed the people do not like it to be taken up carelessly; preferring that it be not touched at all. In this sensitiveness, one notices the feeling which has no doubt participated in forming some of the caste rules of the Âryas. As might be anticipated, the milk from the sacred herd is held in still greater reverence; the holy men of the tiriêri may consume as much of it as they please, but what is over *must be made into nei* before being sold; it must not leave the tiriêri in its natural form.

'The nei which we don't eat ourselves, I sell to the Badagas, 234
who in return supply me and my family with grain, clothes, 437
and a little money.' Very little of the last commodity pro- 793
bably. Thus as we observe, the inducement to become a pâlâl, 556
over and above the glory of position, is the profit from the sale of nei of the sacred drove. A very neat perquisite for 'the Sons of God,' with which to repair broken fortunes.

The pâlâl rarely leaves the tiriêri Mand, but he occasion- 177
ally visits the Badagas villages; obliging the people, through 793
influence of his supposed powers of witchcraft, and the great 754
sanctity attaching to his person, to comply with his demands 692
for little luxuries of food, and for the grain due to his tiriêri as kûtu. He has nothing whatever to do with births, marriages, or deaths, though he is sometimes consulted for the adjustment of disputes.

AUTOTYPE, LONDON

No. 18

The Tirièri. The 'Holy Place' or Toda sanctum.
"Here live the Gods of our Fathers"

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

opp. p. 146.

778

CHAP. XVI.

234 Having ascertained that the tiriéri, with its sacred herd and
778 its magi dér, was indeed the mainspring of the entire religious
faith and social system of the Todas, it became a matter of
124 great moment to ascertain by personal inspection the secrets of its penetralia. Our *ex*-pálál had indeed with great apparent sincerity divulged the whole of the hidden mysteries, even to the extent of naming the Gods of his forefathers; names held in great veneration: when spoken, only pronounced in an under-tone: and which no European, and probably no native beyond the tribe, had ever previously been allowed to hear. Here would be the test of his veracity both on this subject and in other cognate matters on which we had consulted him.

We must see the inside of a tiriéri: we must view the relics, the Gods. Such was the programme: and money would of course perform the work of the magic words 'open sesame.' Calling therefore at our friend's Mand, we readily induced him to accompany us to view his old tiriéri. 'But you must not go close to the dairy' he said. Oh no!

We strolled along the pretty slopes of the verdant hills together, and he guided us over the squashy bogs, and through the ever-silent woods: and again out on the green wild, and through further nestling woods, with the cheery spring sun overhead; all in the direction of his tiriéri.

No one to overhear us out on this prairie! Now is the time! 'Báltaben'—such was his mundane name—'we want to go into the dairy of the tiriéri. You are an old pálál. Here is money.' 'Just to peep in at the door from a distance?' he asked. 'No, but to look at the relics in the inner room.' He stopped short, tucked his stick under one arm, and pressing the tips of all his fingers to his eyes, exclaimed, 'May both my eyes drop from their sockets, but I cannot do such a thing.' After a pause, 'The Gods would vacate the tiriéri Mand if anyone unsanctified entered it, and its pálál would be ruined.'

This was awkward. Another suggestion: Let us see the relics. Let the pálál bring them outside that we may view

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them. We won't go near.' Ah! that is feasible! The bargain is struck forthwith.

On we went again, much refreshed by our success, cross-questioning our guide on points of religion till he was fuddled.

> 'On he fares and to the border comes.'

Rising to the ridge of a prolonged knoll, he stopped and pointed below: 'There!'

Down we go into the sacred hollow. The solemn Toda, still more grave, some enthusiasm kindling his dark eye as he looks across at the place where for half a lifetime he had been a God. Over some little burns, past a group of sacred calves, looking in their dirt and stolid impudence, anything but reverential towards the *ex-pâlâl*—they were of this year's growth, and did not recognise him—up again out of the hollow: when, as we near the rounded crest of a long hillock, we find ourselves opposite two neat, but undersized houses, with a dilapidated buffalo pen. 'The tirièri Mand! Don't go near!' So, like shying horses we circle round the spot, till we reach the ridge.

We are at the sanctuary, and in the middle of the holy domain. The pâlâls and kâvilâls are out. We will sit down and note the place till they return.

600 A pure green cameo of wide extent! the edge formed by an amphitheatre of hill, crowning

> 'with her enclosure green
> As with a rural mound, the champain head.'

The arena filled with ceaseless undulations of grazing land; winding through which, a noble stream, and a score of sparkling rivulets cascading down the distant hills. A long tongue of grass land projects from one side of the hilly margin into the weald. At the root of the tongue, a wood; on the margin of which the sanctuary, near which we sit, 'taking notes.'

Wood, water, herbage, in combination with a seclusion so complete, as to include a deep sense of perpetuity. Surprising rest and peaceful beauty!

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Archæologists have observed on such stones, which are to be frequently seen on these hills, and have asserted that
778 they are worshipped by the Todas as lingoits. Whatever the origin of these stones, one thing is absolutely certain; that the Todas do not regard them in any way.

124 'They come,' said he at last, pointing to the hills near us.
773 Sure enough, four little figures—two clothed in black—are ap-
778 proaching in the jerky step of men descending a steep incline,
and at intervals—no touching allowed—'Listen! O listen!'
234 shouts our conductor over the intervening hollow. They all
stop. 'Two gentlemen have come to see you: let the kâvilâls
remain behind, and you come o-o-o-o-on.' Sly fox, our
Toda! There are to be no witnesses!

In the space of a few minutes, two gentlemen in black mantles—lamp-black and mustard-oil—with wands in their hands, keeping step as they walked,[1] had come up to about
[481] ten yards of us. We all sit down inside the circle of our own shadows.

Time is valuable; for the kâvilâls are waiting; so the interview is short. We are not to touch: merely to look at the maṇi from a distance. We are not to approach the dairy: pâlâls and kâvilâls to be paid.

There is no delay, no holy dilatoriness in bringing out 'the Gods of their fathers.' If we could have watched the pâlâls with our eyes, we must have seen them bound in through the outer door of the dairy, scramble through the inner small one, and wrench off the treasures; for in less than a quarter of a minute, they were standing before us holding their Gods in their hands.

778 Two buffalo-bells—konku—apparently of copper with some brass, dented and old: might be of any age; one about 5 inches diameter and 6 inches high, the other a little less.

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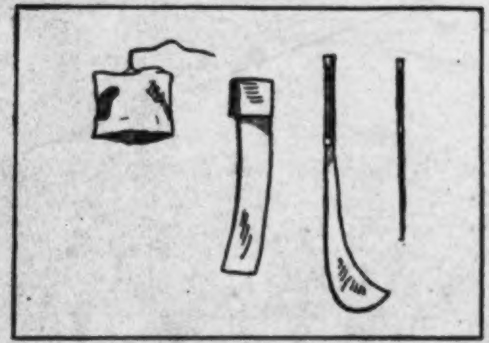
[1] This is not the first time I had noticed Todas keeping step in walking. A most unusual sight in India, even amongst trained native soldiers off parade.

An axe, a sort of hatchet-knife, and a small knife. These latter certainly did not appear old; they were kept tolerably bright, and did not look worn, either by use or from the effects of polishing. The two last had wooden handles. 'These be your Gods'! 778

In reply to the enquiry, if the bells had clappers, the answer was instantaneous, energetic and simultaneous; that they had not clappers: if they had, they would have been cattle-bells—konku—but these were Gods—Dêr. The question must have been asked before. 124 778 773

No. 19.



RELIC GODS—MAṆI DÊR.

'Gods of our Fathers.'

> . . . . Of thee
> Therefore entreat I, Father, to declare
> If I may gain such favour, as to gaze
> Upon thine image by no covering veil'd.
> DANTE, *Paradiso.*

It should be remarked that the Toda name for a bell, is konku—deep-sounding—whilst that of the common cow-bell of the district, now worn by village cattle on certain occasions, is called getti—a small tinkling thing. Hence I deduce from the sounds and sizes, that these holy bells are really national relics.

'Now,' they said, 'the Gods must not be kept out any

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longer;' which being interpreted, meant that the kâvilâls would be coming. So, having taken a sketch of them, we threw some money to the pâlâls.

'Don't tell the kâvilâls when you pass them, that you have paid us money.' I promised; at which they chuckled. 'And don't tell any one you have seen the relics.' Phew!!

CHAP. XVII.

234 793 618 unprofitable office of kâvilâl, and that of pâlkarpâl in villages, to be performed by members of the inferior clan of Pekkan. Moreover, in the care of dairies belonging to their own clan, the Peikis seem often to be content with the services of a Pekkan. I do not feel certain of the cause of this arrangement.

234 621 It is the duty of the pâlkarpâl to milk the village cattle, and to store and partition amongst the various families of the Mand, the shares of the divine fluid and of the nei he has made therefrom.

● [778] The village pâlthchi appears not to have any lights; for the reason perhaps, that it has no relics. However that may be, the pâlkarpâl and his companion, the vorshâl, may alone penetrate even the outer room of the dairy. Men and boys freely enter so far as the precincts of the tûar, and village feasts are [562] often given close about the outside. But the dangerous sex are not permitted, even near the wall: and in the instance of more important villages, termed êtud Mand,[3] they may not approach within about one hundred feet of it.

234 793 788 The duties of the pâlkarpâl in these pâlthchis are very similar to those of the pâlâl in the tiriêri. The only differences, appearing to arise from the latter acting throughout, the part of a God, the equal of his own relics, which are also Gods, and as the superior of his cattle, the gift of the Gods: whereas the former is merely a holy man engaged in the service of the Gods.

Thus, we have seen in Chapter XV. the pâlâl saluting the cattle, as a God in Toda opinion, should do—in silence. But the pâlkarpâl, in making his obeisance, does so as their servant or dependent, saying, danenma, mokh ultama, âl ultama, êr ultama, karr ultama, ellam ultama.[4] Moreover, when he carries his honnu, containing milk, into the dairy, he repeats the formula as he crawls in through the inner door.

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[3] Êtud. This word seems allied to the Drâvidian root ettu or êttu, *raise—lift up*. [POPE.]

[4] See note 5 of Chapter VII.

When the pâlthchi belongs to an êtud Mand, the relics
within are Dêr. And the pâlkarpâl being only a humble
servant, does not presume to mention the names of these Gods, 234
as the deified pâlâl in *his* dairy, may with the greatest propriety 793
do. But in pouring a few drops of milk, three times on each 778
relic, he merely mutters nin arzbini, nin arzbini, nin arzbini 788
I adore thee, I adore thee, I adore thee.

Mr. Metz tells me that in certain cases an additional servant, the tarvâl,[8] would sometimes be employed. His exact occupation is not understood.

Evidently there are dairies and dairies. There is the pâlthch 234
of the unimportant village which is merely a dairy, in charge 778
perhaps of a stripling. Such a one I have entered, and will 554
describe. There is the dairy which is manifestly something
more; that belonging to an êtud Mand. And there is the
most sacred dairy of all; that which appertains to the tiriêri;
the holy of holies, already described.

In all cases, whether the charge be big or small, the servants of the sacred house, are by virtue of their office, treated with respect by the people; they are spoken of in an undertone and in a reserved manner: they are saluted: neither they nor their implements may be touched.

I had made several unsuccessful efforts to penetrate the 234
dairy of an êtud Mand, but was always discovered when 343
seemingly on the eve of success. Taking advantage therefore 342
of a fog I paid a visit to the pâlthchi of an ordinary Mand,
which I had observed, not to be much watched, and to which
a wood afforded means of secret approach. The pâlkarpâl
was fortunately absent, so crawling in, I could observe at
leisure. The outer room was fitted up in every way as an
ordinary dwelling, suited to the simple requirements of a
bachelor of the olden time; an axe for cutting wood was

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[8] Tarvâl. In Tamil we have taravu = *the order of a master* or *superior.* The forms, tara, taru in all Drâvidian dialects, have kindred ideas. [POPE.]

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lying in a corner, and the man's bed was on one side of the door. The door in the wooden partition wall which led 234 to the inner room or dairy proper, was of unusually small 843 dimensions—about a cubit high, by half a cubit broad—and 342 blocked up with a slab of stone. This I removed, and after penetrating the dairy, closed it behind me.

I now struck a light and leisurely examined everything in roof, and on floor. The inventory was of most simple detail; viz., the usual fireplace of three small stones—one at back, and one at each side—an earthenware vessel or two, and a few honnus for holding milk. No bell, no relic, nor lights, nor niche in wall. Only a large pair of buffalo horns, made with unusual care, of bamboo bound with cane, which I found thrust into the thatch: and several smaller horns made from twigs; all of which will be found represented in photograph No. 15. Without doubt there were no stones for any other purposes than those described.

234 It has puzzled me much to discover, in what way, êtud 778 Mands should be, as the meaning implies, 'great' Mands, and 621 why their dairies should be held in more reverence, and be guarded with more care than those of ordinary villages. In a general way, they appear to be somewhat larger than usual. One can see that their droves of cattle are of more than common size. And so the impression left after a visit, is that there is something of the cathedral about the spot. These are, however, signs that such dairies are great, but do not afford the reason why they are so. And there was no one to explain. The people themselves had probably never thought of a reason; they had been satisfied with the knowledge which had grown with their growth, that it was an êtud Mand. I will now give the result of my own enquiries and speculations.

A certain number of dairies are said by the Todas to contain a kurpu* or relic of an ancestor; a ring for instance, a hatchet

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* Kurpu. Drâvidian. Tamil has kuri = *indicate, point out.* Kurippu

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or other imperishable article, even as is said, a bell—konku. That many of these ětud Mands contain kurpus, I have ascertained by direct enquiry. 234 That they all do so, or are supposed by the people to do so, is my belief. 778 Hence we see the ětud Mands are *shrines*; the shrines of a race which burns 621 its dead.

Now the Badaga name for such a village is mui Mand.[7] 778 And as the very intimate knowledge which this cognate tribe 627 possesses of Toda practice, would probably cause the word mui to be descriptive; it would materially assist us in our enquiries if we knew exactly what it does mean.

It has been ascertained that the Todas often settle disputes amongst themselves at these places—the tiriêri being too sacred to be approached for such purposes—challenging one another to make good their word, by repeating it at the ětud Mand. By joining all these notes together, I can frame an explanation that appears to me quite reasonable, and in consonance with my knowledge of the people's habits and mode of thought. They evidently consider the dairies containing kurpus, or relics of their ancestors, in the light of shrines; and in consequence, the precincts and presence to be holy ground; so holy that men would be restrained from lightly uttering a falsehood at such spots.[8] Hence it is, that these 'great' Mands are used for

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—verbal noun = *a sign, indication, memorial.* The Kanarese uses guri. [POPE.]

Maṇi. Sanskrit maṇi = *jewel, bell.* Used in all the Drâvidian languages. [POPE.]

Mr. Metz draws a distinction between kurpu and maṇi; the latter is specific and implies a *metal ring* or *bell.* Thus although a maṇi is with this people always a kurpu, every kurpu is not a maṇi. It may be an *axe* or *staff.*

To me it seems that the word maṇi is a refinement introduced through contact with the Hindus; giving a more distinctly religious, sacred or holy meaning to the sentiment implied in the kurpu.

[7] Mui. In old Kanarese Muyyi is *retaliation.*

Mû in Tamil is *old, venerable.* [POPE.]

[8] Mr. Metz tells me that an oath is taken, by removing the mantle, and stepping over it, in the presence of the ětud Mand.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

the purpose of considering matters of weight concerning a large circle of families. This belief is greatly strengthened by the knowledge that throughout the East the practice is common, to hold similar meetings at shrines of holy men; Pirs, Jogis, Fakirs, &c. 778 627

234 782 That an êtud Mand should have larger herds of cattle than ordinary, may be accounted for by the practice of the people to give cattle in fulfilment of a vow; that if so and so occurs—a son is born for instance—the gift of a cow or calf will be made to the dairy.

000 It is important that we arrive at some decision on the object and use of a dairy which occupies a position so manifestly conspicuous amongst their social institutions: to enable us to clear our minds as to all the components of the Toda faith. So long as we do not know what an êtud Mand is, we should always feel that some material portion of their religious system remained unexplained.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER XIX.

THE BOATH.

External appearance of the Boath—Night visit—Inside of the Boath—Where are the Relics?—The Boath an exceptional curiosity—Speculations regarding it; a Bethel? connected with the Bothan?

ON a previous visit to the village close to which this temple—one out of only three or four in the whole tribe—is situated,[1] I had been able to reconnoitre it at my leisure whilst talking to the naked vorshâl seated on the surrounding-wall.

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He told us with Toda solemnity and such an air, that there were very sacred relics in it, handed down from past generations. Here a turn in the wrist of his upraised arm implied the pre-historic antiquity I was hunting for! How did he guess my secret? But he was lamentably hazy when I strove to turn his observations to practical account. Nor could I get from him a clear description, even of his daily occupations. To sit naked on the wall and look like a scarecrow was the feat he seemed to accomplish best.

'I want to go in,' I said, advancing towards the temple.

'No,' he replied, backing towards the door of the sacred edifice, and shaking the palms of both hands and outspread fingers in alarmed delirium.

'What will happen if I go in?'

'The Gods will tear you to pieces.'

He would not agree to the proposal, though backed by a little offering, so after taking a sketch I retired.

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[1] At the top of the Sigôr Ghat.

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find; but a slight groan of disappointment, followed by rapid movements, as of rats in an empty bucket, told the melancholy tale—nothing.

The pitch darkness of the inside, and blackness of the roof and walls, absorbing nearly all the light of our candles, it was with difficulty we satisfied ourselves of the value and form of our possession.

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The temple is divided by a thick wooden partition wall—which extends from the earthen floor in which it is buried, to the full height of the roof—into two compartments of equal size. There is a small doorway in this wall of the same dimensions as the first. Midway between the two doorways, at the level of the floor, is a vat or basin of about a half cubit square, made of stone.

We look through the interstices between the clumsy slabs of the dividing-wall, into the next room. That at any rate is not empty. It is the *sanctum sanctorum*, where the relics are kept.

Once more! In through the little door of the dividing wall. Quite easy now! First squat square opposite to it, like a frog. Next supple the whole body. Then go in cornerwise with *élan*! Don't attempt to rise till you are five feet off on the other side. This feat can be practised through a window-frame at ground level.

Just looking round at the little door, more in sorrow than in anger, we proceed to business. Earthenware pots, honnus, and a whirl with which to churn butter by revolving between the palms of the hands. No bell, no hatchet, neither ring nor relic of any kind, no niche for lights, no altar, no stone, no phallus or lingum. No snakes! Everyone has been telling us lies, and the world is full of sawdust!

Back through the two doors quickly, like prairie dogs. Out into the open air. The transition was as if we had been born again.

Now to philosophise. This is a very simple religious faith! How many negatives go to prove a positive! One thing is

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clear, every priest must be long in the back and very fond of milk! But why were the doors so unusually small, and why locked, and why these fusty lies about relics?

Some time subsequent to the events just described, an excellent opportunity occurred of making further enquiry regarding relics—the belief in which had now become much shaken—and particularly as regards those which this building had been said to contain, and whose non-discovery haunted me still.

'The people of the village say there are relics—mani—in that temple—dêrmane,[2] or gudi'[3]—I remarked as casually as I could to our old friend, the *ex*-pâlâl, 'do they bury them in the ground?'

Âha,' with a Toda grunt and shake of the head.

'Then where are they?'

Now this Toda had told us many things, and all he had said had proved to be true. Moreover neither he nor any one else had the slightest conception that a visit had been paid to the inside of the dêrmane, or that we entertained any particular interest in it. He must merely have thought to himself from the question, this is another of Paul Pry's 'I only wanted to know.'

He glanced up sideways at me, and

> By his countenance
> Enjoin'd me silence.

With his hand to the side of his mouth, he said in a low voice 'Under the stone on the top of the roof.'

Sold!!

I look on this dêrmane as an exceptional curiosity, possessing for our purposes an interest peculiarly its own. In the first place, it is unique in contour, though *constructed as to plan*

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[2] Dêrmane = *Gods-house—residence of the Gods.*

[3] Gudi—*a temple*; a word probably borrowed from the Badagas.
In Sanskrit, kudi is a *house* and a *curve*. In Telugu, it is used for a *circle* and a *temple*. In Kanarese it is a *temple*, and is written gudi. [POPE.]

under the same general ideas, and apparently for similar purposes as the dairy of a tiriêri or the pâlthchi of any 346 Mand. Then it holds a vat—which no other building does— ● 778 whose use is not understood by the vorshâl in charge, and whose very existence is, I feel nearly certain, unknown to the people. If the vat was constructed for sacrificial purposes, then its use has been discontinued and forgotten, though the priest in charge is a vorshâl or sacrifice man.[4]

It is situated on an exposed site bearing the outlines of stone walls, built on a largeness of scale, and in a form, nowhere else found amongst these people—with a Kromlech and numerous Kairns dotted close about.

The specific name by which it is known—boath[5]—is peculiar, and applicable solely to that style of structure.

181 346 Now it should be borne in mind, if we would form an opinion on the origin of this edifice, that the Todas are unimaginative creatures of one idea; having one way of doing everything: intolerant of change or deviation from custom, unless for some manifestly practical advantage. How then do we find such a race in occupation of an eccentric building which does not fit in with any of its other institutions? Not a tiriêri—for it is of lower grade in Toda estimation; its servant a vorshâl, not a God. Not an ordinary pâlthchi, for one of the largest size exists apart, within a few paces of it.

172 As there is nobody who can give an explanation of the phenomenon, I will submit a theory of my own for consideration. May the boath not be the bethel of some tribe contemporaneous with, and cognate to, the Todas, which, taking refuge like them on these hills, died out in their presence—

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[4] See Note 4 of Chapter VIII.

[5] Boath. An enclosed Jain temple is basti.

It may be deemed fanciful to refer to booth or bothy. The Welsh is bwth, the Gaelic is both. This word is of very extensive use. The Tamil vîḍ and Kanarese bîḍ = *house*, may be compared.

The Todas and Drâvidians generally, have much in common with the Celtic tribes. [POPE.]

CHAP. XXII. pointing to an interesting stage in Turanian progress; that
000 whence various ancient creeds have sprung and ramified.

The Toda religion has not the slightest sympathy with
771 idolatry, nor does it pay attention to natural objects, as trees
778 or rivers: to birds, beasts, or reptiles: nor to the elements.
782 No offerings to a God, whether of flesh—human or animal—
or fruit of the soil, are made: no human victims and no
self-torture. It is not that they have risen above such
prejudices; they seem to me rather, not to have attained the
304 stage when religious observances commence. Circumcision is
769 not performed. The memory of forefathers is piously regarded, but the feeling has not expanded through veneration, into any form of hero-worship.

774 They believe in transmigration, but whether of soul or body
775 probably few have formed very distinct ideas. The funeral service seems to favour the idea that the transition of the soul is the dogma which, though unexpressed, lies like an instinct in their minds: coupled with the idea that the soul is a living solid, a real duplicate Toda requiring food. But the whole scheme of their observances is so illogical, that it is impossible to deduce therefrom any clear definition of a creed.

262 Endeavour has been made in Chapters VIII. and IX. to convey, in brief terms, the reasons for my confidence, that sobriety, and general abstinence from exciting meat diet, are largely natural to this people. The practice certainly forms at present no part of their religious observance.

771 I would place the state of their belief in witchcraft and the
work of demons and other unseen agencies, somewhat on a
754 parallel with that of their knowledge of Divine work. Neither
789 one nor the other, troubles them much. Perhaps I may best
776 define the relative feeling, by saying, that they fear the former
and hope most of the latter. Though they do, to a certain extent, practise demonolatry, they do not do so with the enthusiasm of other primitive races of South India. Indeed I had not one opportunity of witnessing feats of exorcism.

793 They do not wear the ordinary *Pátkuli*, but a scanty black cloth called *Tunni*, made specially for them by the Badagas of Jakanēri.

234 "The preparations for this supposedly sacred office occupy a whole month, and the exposure to which the aspirant to it is subjected is so great as to place his life in some peril. For eight days and eight nights he must remain in the jungles without a particle of clothing to protect him from the severity of the climate. His body is at this time to be rubbed over with the juice of a certain tree called Fūr or Tūr, the botanical name of which I do not know. After this the purifying juice is washed off, and he is allowed to enter a small hut, which is the only shelter he is permitted to have during the remainder of the period."*

II. *Varzhâls*, who undergo the same preparation as the *Pâlâls*, but for a shorter period. They are employed as village milkmen, and may be either Peikis or Pekkans. They hold office temporarily, and during their tenure must abstain from intercourse with women. Whilst employed in their official capacity they may only wear the langooty.

III. *Kokvali.* There is only one, who appears to be identical with the Varzhâl in all but the name; he lives at Tārnât mand (*Plate* VIII.).

IV. *Kurpuli.* There is only one, who lives at the Kenna mand of Kândal, and must be a Kenna. In other respects he is the same as the *Varzhâl*.

V. *Pâlikārpâls* may be of any clan, but Peiki and Pekkan mands must have Peiki and Pekkan Pâlikārpâls. They are not obliged to abstain from intercourse with women, and can wear the *Putkuli* while performing their duties as village milkmen.

234 There are two kinds of temples:

● 778 I. *Boa*, a conical roofed temple surrounded with a low wall (*Plate* XIII.).

II. *Pâlthchi*, a temple resembling in outward appearance an ordinary house, but
346 larger. Of *Pâlthchis* there are two varieties; the first the dairy-house, of which every
793 *mand* possesses one at least; the second variety, though similar in appearance, is something more than a dairy-house, and wherever found, the mand is called by Todas
621 *Etadmand* (*Great Mand*), and by Badagas *Mui mand*, in contradistinction to a *Buri* or common mand.

Both *Boas* and *Pâlthchis* are used as dairies, the only difference apparently being that the priests may live in the latter, and not in the former.

When a mand has two temples there are generally two priests, one a Varzhâl, and the other a *Pâlikārpâl*. Each has his own division of the village herd to milk, and his own temple in which to keep the milk and ghee. The *Boa*, if there is one, is appropriated to the *Varzhâl*.

234 There are four *Boas*:—

(1.) Called *Mânboa*; at Muttanâd *mand*, about four miles from Ootacamund on the
778 left of the Segūr road.

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* *Tribes inhabiting the Neilghery Hills*, by Mr. Metz, p. 19.

234 (2.) Called *Kiurzh*;* at the *Tiriari* mand near Sholūr.

778 (3.) Called *Tärzhva*; at the *Tiriari* mand on the Kūndahs.

(4.) Near Brikapaṭṭi; called *Mutterzhva*.

346 Formerly there was a fifth called *Katedva* near Mukkurti at Mudimand. It is now in ruins.

Every clan has its own *Muimands*. I give a list, with the name of the presiding God and Bell, where there is one. 103

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Peiki Muimands (*Etadmands*).

Name of Mand.	Name of Temple and presiding God.	Name of Bell.
1. Karia	Marialph.	
2. Yemagal	Poltivasāri.	
3. Ebgôdu	Nalkanash.	
4. Kengôdu	Kyadf	Mírzhan. Ertâtu. Kírzhan.
5. Kundigôd	Térvalth.	
6. Melgod	Nirzâlva.	
7. Pilondugôd	Térvalth.	
8. Mardini	Nirzâlva.	
9. Denâdu	Apurshanash.	
10. Wongôd	Nirzâlva.	
11. Karimolu	Toriâldf.	

Pekkan Muimands.

1. Manjakal	Móddva.	
2. Narigo	Tvarieldf.	

Kenna Muimands.

1. Kandal	1. Torzhaldf 2. Karzhaldf	Narâl Kantshu. Ponâl Kantshu.
2. Kandiko	Térvalth.	
3. Ar	Tilthbóa	Karidzand (2 bells here so called).

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* Measurements :—

From top of roof to ground	16′
Inside diameter, north to south	9′ 2″
Do. do. east to west	8′ 2″
Outer circumference two feet above ground	34′
Height of doorway, inner and outer	1′ 7″
Breadth do. do.	1′ 2″
From eaves to ground	3′ 5″

The door faces West. The interior is in two compartments, divided by seven thick beams standing on end. The centre beam, in which the inner doorway is cut, is about 1½ feet broad, and reaches from the ground to the conical top. The other six beams are of like thickness, but of less breadth and length.

103

Kuttan Muimands.

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Name of Mand.	Name of Temple and presiding God.	Name of Bell.
1. Kodanâd	Músdshyáld	Kérshandk.
2. Pangôd	Pêrgârsh.	
3. Âr	Tírzh pâlzh (in ruins).	
4. Nirzh	Ponarshaldf.	
5. Kanorzh	Muderzhva.	

Todi Muimands.

Name of Mand.	Name of Temple and presiding God.	Name of Bell.
1. Puirtāl	Térvalth.	
2. Kārzhtith	Kátĕtivâ.	
3. Ār	Kâjva	Kângüar. Kânj.
4. Térshdêr	Korzhaldf.	
5. Kérköārzh	Musdshyáldf.	
6. Kúramârzh	Marzhaldf.	
7. Pun	Nirzālva	Ândk.
8. Tarār*	Terpivor	Ândk and Pândk (2 bells).
	Têkva	
	Pēshhva	
9. Nârsh	Mânboa. Ârialdf.	
10. Kúĕrsh	Kênaldf.	
11. Párzhtâr	Karzhaldf.	

The eleven *Muimands* of the Peikis belong to three families. Six belong to the present chief Muttivên.

776 Besides the above-mentioned deities, the Todas also recognise a Hunting God called Bētikhân, who lives at Nambilikote in Wainâd. They say he is a son of Dirkish (who was a son of Ēn, the first Toda) and "is now attended by Brahmans."

771 In spite of this formidable pantheon, the Toda religion is of the vaguest and smallest kind. Some old men of a devout turn of mind make salām to the rising sun
788 (*Birsh*), and at some seasons to the moon (*Tiggal*),† and fast at eclipses, and occasionally they may prostrate themselves at the door of the *Pâltchi*, but no one except the
778 *pūjāri* attempts anything beyond this. "May all be well!" "May the buffaloes be
782 well!" is the only form of prayer. What their idea of a God is, it is not easy to say. Except the Bells, to which the *pūjāris* occasionally offer libations of milk, they have no material object of worship; they do not appeal to their Mand God by name, nor do they seem to expect that he will show them special favour; in fact, the names of their Gods, like some of their funeral ceremonies, seem more like the fossil remains of an extinct religion, than parts of a living creed.

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[*] Bad. Tārnāt. *Pl.* VIII.

[†] Sometimes they also salute a lamp when first lit. In all these cases the salutation consists in raising the right hand to the face, the first finger resting on the nose.

181 which haunt the hills, although the latter, as I can testify, frequently attack and kill his buffaloes. During my sojourn out there, parties of Todas would often come many miles distance to give us information of these occurrences, both for the sake of the *enam*, or present, they got for so doing, as well as to obtain the assistance of a rifle or two, to rid them of their enemy. The practice on these occasions is to repair to the spot where the carcase of the partly-eaten buffalo has been left, and to lie in wait till dark for the tiger, which invariably returns at night to 147 feast on his prey. To show the activity and endurance of these men, I may mention that I have seen them at such times, after having walked ten or twelve miles in the heat of the sun, stand talking to one another till our horses were ready, and then, without any sort of refreshment or rest whatever, set out on their return with the greatest alacrity, keeping up with us the whole way.

136 The buffaloes in question are of the kind one sees in Egypt and on the plains of India, black-skinned, ungainly animals, sparsely sprinkled with long coarse bristles, and having wide-spreading flattened horns. The herds belonging to the Todas comprise, however, very much larger and finer animals than are to be found in the low country; they are, moreover, exceedingly savage when Europeans come near them. I have frequently been charged by a whole herd when on horseback, and obliged to take to a smart canter to avoid them. Nevertheless, one may see them any day 343 driven at will by little naked Toda urchins. Each *mund* has an 417 enclosure or pen called a *Tooel*, in which the buffaloes are confined at night; it is generally circular in form, and consists of a 234 low wall of loose stones surrounding a sunk area within. As these pens are never cleaned out, the interior becomes in time so much elevated, that the fence has to be heightened by the addition of thorns and cut branches. When the buffaloes come home at evening, the Todas who may be standing near invariably salute them with the greatest gravity and respect. Though they have numerous large herds of these animals, the Todas never kill them 778 for food, keeping them solely for the sake of their milk. There are a certain number of sacred buffaloes belonging to each of their *terrarees*, or holy places, and these are never milked, but with their young by their sides, lead a privileged life, the honour being 262 apparently hereditary. Milk is, it may be mentioned, the principal diet of these people, either in its natural state, or sour, like

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 Audo Toda Audo

The Todas believe in the existence of an invisible and 771
supreme Spirit, and in a future state, though this they seem to regard as one of a somewhat mundane character, inasmuch as buffaloes and abundance of milk are to be the portion of the faithful. They also pay reverence to, though they do not worship, inferior objects, such as hills and forests and the rising sun, precisely as did the ancient Celts. In connection with the adoration of light, they also make an obeisance to their evening lamps on lighting them. The observance of this custom in Europe is mentioned by Edward Spencer, who, writing in 1596, states that, "at the kindling of fire and lighting of candles, the Scots and Irish use superstitious rites."*

The presence in their temples of large stones, which have, by 771
superficial observers, been regarded as gods, has led to the belief 778 ●
that these people are idolaters; but this is certainly not the case. There is no doubt that the shapeless symbols are merely representatives of an unseen power, and not in themselves actual objects of worship; though with other races, preserving less strictly their primitive character, this original use has degenerated into idolatry. The fact, therefore, that this tribe has so preserved to the present day, in the midst of a heathen country, the primary object and intention of such symbols, is one worthy of notice; and leads to the supposition that the Todas may be equally unchanged in all other respects since the earliest days of their corporate existence as a people.

It would be a most interesting point to determine satisfac- 172
torily whether or not the early progenitors of the Todas were the erectors of the numerous Druidical circles and remains found on their hills, and which crown the summit of almost every peak throughout the Nilgiri range. Several of the cromlechs have, rather against the wishes of the hill-tribes, been examined at different times, and found to contain urns of clay filled with black earth, charred fragments of human bones, and roughly made clay figures of buffaloes, and in some instances bells; the whole lying under large flat stones within the circle. It is to be noted, too, that these urns, as well as the bells, very closely resemble those that have been found in Great Britain.

Within the last few months, "a set of iron implements" has been found in a cromlech on the southern side of the Nilgiri

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* *Early Races of Scotland.*

346 234 In addition to the dairies which in form resemble the
dwelling-huts, the Todas keep up as dairy-temples certain
curious conical edifices, of which there are said to be four
on the Nīlgiri plateau, viz., at the Muttanād mand, near
Kotagiri, near Sholūr, and at Mudimand. The last was
out of repair a few years ago, but was, I was informed,
going to be rebuilt shortly. It is suggested by Dr.
Rivers as probable that in many cases a dairy, originally
[178] of the conical form, has been rebuilt in the same form as
the dwelling-hut, owing to the difficulty and extra labour
of reconstruction in the older shape. The edifice at the
Muttanād mand (or Nōdrs), at the top of the Sīgūr ghāt, is
known to members of the Ootacamund Hunt as the Toda
cathedral. It has a circular stone base and a tall conical
thatched roof crowned with a large flat stone, and is
[784] surrounded by a circular stone wall. To penetrate
within the sacred edifice was forbidden, but we were
informed that it contained milking vessels, dairy apparatus,
and a swāmi in the guise of a copper bell (mani).
The dairyman is known as the varzhal or wursol. In
778 front of the cattle-pen of the neighbouring mand, I
noticed a grass-covered mound, which, I was told, is
sacred. The mound contains nothing buried within it, but
[764] the bodies of the dead are placed near it, and earth from
the mound is placed on the corpse before it is removed
to the burning-ground. At "dry funerals" the buffalo is
said to be slain near the mound. It has been suggested
346 174 by Colonel Marshall * that the "boa or boath [poh.] is not
a true Toda building, but may be the bethel of some tribe
contemporaneous with, and cognate to the Todas, wh[illegible]
taking refuge, like them, on these hills, died out in their
presence."

[113]

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* A Phrenologist among the Todas, 1873.

about eight and ten, naked save for a loin-cloth, seated on 234
the ground, awaiting our arrival. As a mark of respect 793
to the palols, the three Todas who accompanied me [554]
arranged their putkûlis so that the right arm was laid
bare, and one of them, who was wearing a turban,
removed it. A long palaver ensued in consequence of
the palols demanding ten rupees to cover the expenses
of the purificatory ceremonies, which, they maintained, [783]
would be necessary if I desecrated the mand by photographing [123]
it. Eventually, however, under promise of a
far smaller sum, the dwelling-hut was photographed, with
palols, kaltmokhs, and a domestic cat seated in front of it.

In connection with the palol being forbidden to cross 778 ●
a river by a bridge, it may be noted that the river which 823
flows past the Paikâra bungalow is regarded as sacred
by the Todas, and, for fear of mishap from arousing the
wrath of the river god, a pregnant Toda woman will not [843]
venture to cross it. The Todas will not use the river
water for any purpose, and they do not touch it unless
they have to ford it. They then walk through it, and,
on reaching the opposite bank, bow their heads. Even
when they walk over the Paikâra bridge, they take their
hand out of the putkûli as a mark of respect. Concerning 778
the origin of the Paikâra river, a grotesque legend 823
was narrated to us. Many years ago, the story goes, two 539
Todas, uncle and nephew, went out to gather honey.
After walking for a few miles they separated, and
proceeded in different directions. The uncle was
unsuccessful in the search, but the more fortunate
nephew secured two kandis (bamboo measures) of honey.
This, with a view to keeping it all for himself, he
secreted in a crevice among the rocks, with the exception
of a very small quantity, which he made his uncle
believe was the entire product of his search. On the

778 823 539 following day, the nephew went alone to the spot where
the honey was hidden, and found, to his disappointment,
that the honey was leaking through the bottom of the
bamboo measures, which were transformed into two
snakes. Terrified at the sight thereof, he ran away, but
[825] the snakes pursued him (may be they were hamadryads,
which have the reputation of pursuing human beings).
After running a few minutes, he espied a hare (*Lepus
nigricollis*) running across his course, and, by a skilful
manœuvre, threw his body-cloth over it. Mistaking it
for a man, the snakes followed in pursuit of the hare,
which, being very fleet of foot, managed to reach the
sun, which became obscured by the hoods of the reptiles.
[821] This fully accounts for the solar eclipse. The honey,
which leaked out of the vessels, became converted into
the Paikāra river.

233 166 In connection with the migrations of the herds of
buffaloes, Dr. Rivers writes as follows. "At certain
seasons of the year, it is customary that the buffaloes
both of the village and the ti should migrate from one
place to another. Sometimes the village buffaloes are
accompanied by all the inhabitants of the village; sometimes
the buffaloes are only accompanied by their dairyman
and one or more male assistants. There are two
chief reasons for these movements of the buffaloes, of
which the most urgent is the necessity for new grazing-places
. . . . The other chief reason for the
migrations is that certain villages and dairies, formerly
[796] important and still sacred, are visited for ceremonial
purposes, or out of respect to ancient custom." For the
following note on a buffalo migration which he came
across, I am indebted to Mr. H. C. Wilson. "During
the annual migration of buffaloes to the Kundahs, and
when they were approaching the bridle-path leading from

Avalanchē to Sispāra, I witnessed an interesting custom. 233
The Toda family had come to a halt on the far side of the 166
path; the females seated themselves on the grass, and
awaited the passing of the sacred herd. This herd,
which had travelled by a recognised route across country,
has to cross the bridle-path some two or three hundred
yards above the Avalanchē-Sispāra sign-post. Both the
ordinary and sacred herd were on the move together.
The former passed up the Sispāra path, while the latter
crossed in a line, and proceeded slightly down the hill,
eventually crossing the stream and up through the
shōlas over the steep hills on the opposite side of the
valley. As soon as the sacred herd had crossed the
bridle-path, the Toda men, having put down all their
household utensils, went to where the women and girls
were sitting, and carried them, one by one, over the
place where the buffaloes had passed, depositing them
on the path above. One of the men told me that the [562]
females are not allowed to walk over the track covered [778]
by the sacred herd, and have to be carried whenever it
is necessary to cross it. This herd has a recognised
tract when migrating, and is led by the old buffaloes,
who appear to know the exact way."

The tenure under which lands are held by the Todas 423
is summed up as follows by Mr. R. S. Benson in his
report on the revenue settlement of the Nilgiris, 1885.
"The earliest settlers, and notably Mr. Sullivan, strongly
advocated the claim of the Todas to the absolute
proprietary right to the plateau [as lords of the soil];
but another school, led by Mr. Lushington, has strongly
combated these views, and apparently regarded the
Todas as merely occupiers under the ryotwari system in
force generally in the Presidency. From the earliest times 427
the Todas have received from the cultivating Badagas 648

551 [614] patrilineal sib. Only one name is borne by each individual. Rivers[2] mentions the fact that, if two individuals bear the same name, one of them will change his name. Such identity of name is avoided merely to escape confusion and misunderstanding. Identical names can seldom occur among men for reasons that will be clear later in this paper. They are more likely to occur among women. One recent case is that of two women who were named sondoriːdz. One of these is the daughter of iːmuɯxfɯn (19, Imokhvan)[3] and she retains the name in this form. The other is the daughter of midzxðɯːr̥ (63, Midjkudr); she is usually called sondɯr to distinguish her from the other, though her full name may still be used when there is no possibility of confusion.

778 771 234 §3. To make clear the background of the naming system it is necessary to clarify the religious system of the Todas. Each sib possesses a number of munds,[4] which are essentially holy places or gods with dwelling houses attached. The holy place or god is the localized dairy-complex, all the elements of which are holy. The elements are the sacred buffaloes (as opposed to the non-sacred buffaloes), the dairies, and the milk of the buffaloes. No further localization of the divinity appears to be made within the complex. All the contents of the dairies, bells, tools, coagulant (called pep), partake to some degree of the holiness of the complex, and, like the buffaloes and the milk, must not be profaned by contact with profane persons; but it cannot be discovered that any object or place is especially the seat of the divinity. Linguistic evidence has made it clear that this is correct. In both songs and [192] speech the mund (excluding the dwelling houses) is referred to as töñ "god" or noːr̥ "sacred place" or by the compound töñnoːr̥, and my informants can make no distinction between these terms, or between moḍ "mund" and 776 778 [179] noːr̥ when these two form a pair in the songs.[5] These divinities are to some extent anthropomorphic, since it is said that all the gods, including the gods of the Hindu pantheon worshipped in the plains, the Toda gods who are mountains and rivers of the Nilgiris, as well as the god ōn who lives in the world of the dead, and the gods who are the munds, i.e. the töñnoːr̥, hold assemblies to settle their disputes in the dairy of the mund mɯnj.

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[113] [2] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906), p. 625. He has a chapter on "Personal Names," pp. 619–27.

[3] The number of the genealogical table in Rivers and the spelling of the name in the table will be given for each individual mentioned.

[192] [4] Toda terminology applies the word moḍ to (1) the sib as a whole, (2) each separate dairy institution plus a dwelling place which belongs to the sib, and in several other ways which are not in point here.

[113] [5] For the technique of the songs, see my paper, *The Songs of the Todas* (Proceedings, American Philosophical Society, Vol. 77, pp. 543–60, 1937).

It is said that the munds and the other gods assemble there, and their approach and departure are known to the Todas when they see whirlwinds going into or leaving the dairy. All lamps when they are extinguished at night go to this dairy to provide light in case the gods are holding a night-assembly. 776 778 [821] [354]

§4. The prayer at each dairy is made up of a list of names of objects connected with the dairy-complex, in forms usually different from their ordinary names. These are the küɑsm (the word is best translated as "sacred name"). For each mund (in sense 2 of footnote 4) there is a pair of küɑsm, as also for the people of the sib as a whole (among the toɪrθaɪsoɪḷ moiety, but not among the tööfiḷjoɪḷ), for the buffaloes of the sib, and for the funeral-munds, tɪɪ-dairies (i.e. the most sacred grade of dairy which never has dwelling houses attached), and their buffaloes. Some of the more important mountains, rivers, Badaga villages, and other localities on the Nilgiris have similar pairs of küɑsm, while all the other less important localities, small streams, valleys, ravines, hills, groves and the paths through them, level grounds and rocky grounds on the hills, buffalo tracks, etc., have a name and at least one küɑsm by which they are mentioned in prayers. All these places are regarded as being closely associated with some mund, generally the nearest one. In addition, within the mund there are dairies, pens, calf-sheds, watering-places, rocks, cooking-places used at ceremonies, trees, shady places where the people sit, all with names and at least one küɑsm which is used in prayers. The bells in dairies are also named. All such things and places are referred to in songs also by the küɑsm. 778 552 [788] [614] [103]

MEN'S NAMES

§5. Each sib then has associated with it a large number of names and küɑsm, most of them with sacred associations. It is from these that men are named. In many cases a name is used without change. ũuɪʂoɪʈ of the meḷgaɪsoɪḷ (48, Ushadr) is named after the chief male funeral-place of the sib. paɪŋ (47, Ponggz) is named after a bell in one of the dairies of the sib. maɪkaɪɪ of the kaɪsoɪḷ (10, Makars) has the name of one of the tɪɪ-places of this sib. toɪɪʃaḷḷ of the kaɪsoɪḷ (15, Tarsiolv) has the name of the kuʈpoḷj dairy at the mund koɪɪ. kondθuɪ of the toɪroɪʈoɪḷ (23, Kandu) is named after the pen of the kogḷoḷj dairy at the mund toɪroɪʈ. pepoɪb of the meḷgaɪsoɪḷ (44, Pepob) has the name of a snake said to live at kuɪsoɪɪ, a mund of the sib. këɪroɪʈrθuʈʈo of the kõɪroɪʈoɪḷ (26, Keradrkutan) has as his name the second küɑsm of the people of the sib. oɪtjaɪz of the paɪrgoɪʈoɪḷ (34, Athersz) has the second küɑsm of the people of the sib. munoɪmbiʂʈj, son of koʈsiḷθj (12, Kachsidl) has one of the küɑsm of the buffaloes of his sib. 778 551 614

778 551 614 §6. Most frequently some modification is made in the name. Often this is done to avoid a personal name that is in use simultaneously or that has been used in a previous generation. See e.g. tæɪθj in §12 and ṭæɪθjxæɪn, the name of his great-grandson explained in §16. tɯɪpɯɪsxüɯṭṇ, son of tæɪpɑx (20, Teipakh), and tɯɪfnɯɪ (25, Tiveners) are both called after the kogfoɭj dairy at the mund toɪroɪṛ, which is named tɯɪpɯɪsfoɪü. In the case of one man pɑnɯɪ (23, Paners), I was told that his real name is koɪnɯɪ, which is the first küɑsm of the mund pɑʃtɑɪr of the toɪroɪṛoɪɭ, but that a real küɑsm of a mund cannot be used in addressing a man for fear he may suffer misfortune or die. The name pɑnɯɪ is based on the second küɑsm of this mund, pɑɪngub, with unusual changes. This explanation may be correct, but two men of this same sib are called by the unchanged küɑsm of two munds which were abandoned so long ago that the real names are not remembered, viz. ðɪkjɑɭf (24, Irkiolv) after the küɑsm ðɪṛṇɯɪ, ðɪkjɑɭf, and oɪxüɯḷṇ (24, Orguln) after the küɑsm oɪṛṇɯɪ, oɪxüɯḷṇ; the küɑsm are remembered from their use in the prayer of the calf-sacrifice of this sib. That we are not
551 dealing in these two cases with munds whose gods are regarded as no longer
776 existent is clear, for kiɪṛṇɯɪ of the niṛjoɪɭ (43, Kidrners) derives his name
778 from the unchanged second küɑsm of the mund niṛj, and oṛjxɑɪ of the
614 möɪṛoɪɭ (16, Odikars) from the unchanged second küɑsm of the mund pɑn. In fact, so long as an abandoned mund is remembered at all, it may be reoccupied, and it seems clear that the Todas do not believe that the god vanishes when a mund is abandoned.

193 551 103 §7. Modification follows a number of patterns, some of them not always clear. If a place-name is being adapted, such suffixes or second members of compounds which characterize the locality are frequently dropped entirely or replaced by others. E.g. töümoɗ (24, Teimad) < a valley (pɑɭ) called töümoɗfɑɭ. mogoj (24, Mogal) < mogojnæɪ "cubit (mogoj)-shade (næɪ)," a shady place at the male funeral-place tyɭtsüɯɪ of his sib.[8] kokɑɪr (20, Kakar) < kokɑɪrxüɯt, an open place in the middle of thickets (küɯt) near the mund toɪroɪṛ. See also kæɪn in §16. If another suffix is used, it sometimes is one that is appropriate to the locality, as in kiɪθjmuṛj (20, Kidimudri) < kiɪθjmɯn, a mountain; mɯn is the peak of a hill and muṛj may have the same meaning, though it denotes most generally the top of anything which is shaped well, e.g. a conical dairy, a gracefully spreading tree, a man's hair cut in the style peculiar to the Todas. It is probably substituted here because of this emotive connotation.

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[114] [8] Rivers (p. 623) supposed wrongly that this man was named "from the language of everyday life." His name is undoubtedly the same as the common noun in phonetics, but derived as it is by curtailment of a place-name associated with the sib, its connotations are very different from those of the common noun.

551 an extent that their phonetics follow the Toda pattern: pæɪbj, daughter of
193 öɪknuɹ (8, Arkners), <"baby;" pentʃ, daughter of koɼxüuɪʈn̩ (42, Kadrkutan),
<"bench (i.e. of magistrates in the courts)." The English "station,"
i.e. police-station, becomes in Toda tæɪsn; a woman's name tæɪs is derived
by dropping -n, which if it were kept would give the word the appearance of
a man's name (daughter of kɑjniɪr, 3, Kainir).

§30. The Sanskrit dēvī "goddess" borrowed indirectly gives tiɪʃj (8,
[177] Tivi). Several goddess names (Hindu) with this as final element are found,
among them ɑmɑndiɪʃj, daughter of küuɪlpɑx (52, Kulpakh), the first element
being Amma, a South Indian word for "goddess;" the whole word
probably refers to Mariamma.

CONCLUSIONS

551 §31. Analysis of a large collection of proper names has thus yielded a
614 number of general tendencies. Men's names are in the majority of cases
sib-names, based on names and küɑɹm "sacred names" of all things con-
778 nected with the patrilineal sib and especially with the gods or munds of the
sib. In this the Todas join in principle with many other sib-organized communities,
in which the individuals of each sib bear a name belonging to
the sib, but they differ from other such communities in that while in most
each individual uses the name of the sib and a personal name not closely
connected with the sib, the Todas use only personal names, which are derived
551 from the sib. Of the small residue of names not definitely connected
with the sibs, a few are derived from religious entities not closely associated
776 with any sib (e.g. öɪngüuɪʈn̩ §18), and perhaps a larger number are derived
177 from the names of gods of the Hindu pantheon, usually in consequence of a
vow made by the man's parents (§17). A very few are derived from more
miscellaneous sources (§§19, 20).

551 §32. Women's names on the contrary have nothing to do with the sib
193 with the exception of the one discussed in §24 and possibly others that I
have not discovered.[12] Some women's names are simple common nouns, oft-
[614] en of non-Toda origin, many more are common nouns with a suffix, and
the great majority are compounds of common nouns. Those names bor-
[177] rowed from English probably in many cases have a bizarre or perhaps even
comic connotation, judging from the facial expressions of my informants
when I recorded such names.

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[562] [12] It may be noted that though women have no part in the religion of the dairy-complex
and are a source of pollution to the complex in many circumstances, they are not debarred
[533] from using the küɑɹm "sacred names" in composing songs. Here they are entirely on an equal-
[778] ity with the men. It has been found too that the women have as good a knowledge of the
details of the formation of men's names as the men; cf. §23.

771 the first time,[1] introducing new utensils into the dairy and
233 preparing new coagulant for the milk, rebuilding and rethatching
234 the dairy, consecrating dairymen, and even drinking buttermilk
794 from the dairy. All the rules apply to the sacred buffaloes;
ordinary ones are treated with much less ceremony. Infractions
[783] of the rules involve pollution, and most of the precautions
surrounding the cult seem designed to prevent pollution of the
[778] milk by contact with profane persons or utensils. The milk, as
the primary product, is most liable to pollution and the successive
operations finally result in ghee, which possesses so little sanctity
794 that it can be sold to outsiders.

776 Rivers (pp. 447–9) dealt with the various elements of the
114 dairy-cult which might conceivably be regarded as divinities,
[234] the dairy, the bell, the buffaloes, and the poḷoːḷ, the priest of the
most sacred grade of dairy, the tiː. He rightly rejected all these
as being divinities for the Todas. Finally, in a paragraph on p. 449, he attempted to grapple with the problem of the Toda divinities. He said: "Each clan is believed to have its nódrodchi, or ruling deity, but I could not learn what he is supposed to do. In general the nódrodchi of a clan is a god dwelling on a hill near the chief village of the clan, and two clans living near one another may have the same ruler......... Little can be said about the nature of these connexions between gods and clans, but it is possible that when a clan or a member of a clan is said to incur the anger of the gods it is the nódrodchi who is chiefly offended and inflicts punishment in the form of death or disease to man or buffalo." This neglects one very important set of divinities. Rivers failed to discriminate between two different classes of divinities, the töuθuṭ and the töunoːṛ. The Todas are not very articulate on the distinction when pressed for information in
general terms, but the distinction is implicit in all that is said
[533] on the subject and becomes very explicit in the language of the
songs.

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[1] This ceremony, the [illegible], is performed for a sacred buffalo only
and only at its first calving; Rivers (p. 173) is to be corrected on this point.
[114] The essential part of the ceremony is the name-giving. When the calf is
released from the calf-shed and allowed to go to its mother to be suckled, the
[552] dairyman says the name, e. g. [illegible], and then strikes the buffalo three
[788] times with the wand, saying [illegible] at each stroke (p. 173 top). Before this
ceremony the buffalo is classed as [illegible], after [illegible] as [illegible].

Most of the deities who are named and of whom stories are 776
told are the töuθɯṭ and it is about these that Rivers acquired 114
much information. They are "the mountains (tɯṭ) which are 794
gods (töu)," and with them we may include the river deities.
They are very real to the Todas; for details I refer to Rivers,
since little that is new on these gods has come to me. But they
are not the gods of the sibs. They have connexions with the
villages of the sibs (the villages are called mo*d*, Englished as
"mund"), e. g. tö:kiṣj created most of the Toda institutions at
the mund no:ṛ and this connexion is kept very much in mind.
They may also be offended against, and diviners may and do [777]
sometimes say that such and such misfortunes have come to a [791]
man because he has so offended, especially against the river gods [688]
by breaking the regulations concerning the crossing of rivers.
But these töuθɯṭ are not the most important gods to the Todas. 794

The töuno:ṛ are by all odds the most present divinities in Toda 776
consciousness. These are the gods of the munds, or rather of the 234
dairy-complexes localized at munds. Most munds consist of one [361]
or more dairies, buffalo-pens, and other appurtenances of the
dairy-cult, together with several houses in which the people live.
The dairy section of the mund is the töuno:ṛ and it is clear from
the song-phraseology and the prayers that it is not only the
dairies that are denoted by this term, but the whole dairy-complex
associated with the dairies. The prayers are made up of names [782]
of everything connected with the complex, dairies, sacred buffaloes,
pens, calf-sheds, bells, utensils and tools used in the dairies,
and coagulant. The dairyman in that he is the servant of the
complex is to this extent connected with it. The complex may [783]
suffer pollution in any of its parts, and for this reason women,
who are the chief source of pollution, are rigorously separated [562]
from the complex and not allowed to approach it from the house
across a line that is marked by a stone or stones. The houses in
fact are designated as a:ṛ as opposed to the dairy section 776
of the mund which is no:ṛ "sacred place." Within the no:ṛ it 234
cannot be discovered that any element is the local seat of the 778
divinity. The linguistic evidence shows that the no:ṛ itself 794
is the god. Both songs and ordinary speech refer to the sacred
part of the mund as töu "god" or no:ṛ "sacred place" or töuno:ṛ, [192]
a compound of the two words denoting "the sacred place which

776 is a god." Likewise mod "mund" and no:ṛ "sacred place"
234 may be used as equivalent terms in songs. We must conclude
778 that the "sacred place" and the "god" are the same thing, the
[192] localized dairy-complex. Examples of song-phraseology are as
follows:[1]

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no:ṛo:selm	ku:tjɯθno:ṛ
sacred places-all	to which she gathered-sacred place
töuo:selm	"
gods-all	"

i. e. "(no:ṣ), the sacred place to which the goddess tö:kiṣj gathered all the sacred places, all the gods."

moxeθaṛm	kuɯṛtɯθno:ṛ
children-charity	which gave-sacred place
ɯṛeθaṛm	"
buffaloes-charity	"

i. e. "the place (or, god) which gave children and buffaloes in abundance."

no:ṛexu:ḍtk	pi:ɯθno:ṛ
sacred places-meeting-to	which went-sacred place
töueno:jtk	"
gods-meeting-to	"

i. e. "the sacred place (or, god) which went to the assembly
794 of the sacred places, of the gods." The assembly to which the
776 gods go is held in the dairy of the mund my:nj to settle disputes
778 and matters of interest to the gods. Here all the gods, the
234 töuθɯṭ, the töuno:ṛ, and the gods of the Hindu pantheon,
[177] assemble and they are said to be 1600 or 1800 in number.[2] From
this the töuno:ṛ are clearly seen to be anthropomorphic, as is
[777] also evident since it is said that a töuno:ṛ may become angry and
[783] visit misfortune on anyone guilty of polluting that particular
dairy-complex.

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[1] See *The Songs of the Todas*, reference given in note 1.

[2] The two numbers make the song-pair; pa:rnɯ:rθöu, pu:ṭṇɯ:rθöu "1600
[533] gods, 1800 gods." That the conception is of fairly ancient standing with the
[174] Todas seems clear from the Toda interpretation of the first "holy name (kwasm)" of the mund my:nj, which is pa:rnɯs, said to mean "the standing-place (nɯs) of the 1600 gods (represented by pa:r for pa:rnɯ:r)." *For further* discussion of this sacred name, see *Personal names of the Todas* §11.

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The dwelling houses form no part of the complex, and so there are töuno:ṭ without houses, as is preeminently the case with the highest grade of dairies, the ti:. There may also be munds without dairies, and these are not töuno:ṭ. Some munds also which have dairies are not töuno:ṭ. They were founded in comparatively recent times because the herds tended at a töuno:ṭ became too large and new dairy accommodation had to be built. Their comparative lack of sanctity is indicated by the fragmentary nature of the prayers used at them and by the fact that a dairyman-priest may not be ordained for them but must be ordained for one of the töuno:ṭ of the sib and after serving there for a short time must go on to the less sacred place. This type of mund as well as those without dairies are known as maxmoḍ, as opposed to the töuno:ṭ, which are ɯtuɯḍmoḍ "important or chief mund." In each case a töuno:ṭ is said to have been founded in the beginning by the töuθɯṭ associated with the sib, a maxmoḍ to have been a human creation. 776 778 [342] [178] [793]

When a töuno:ṭ is entirely abandoned and its dairy no longer used, the Todas may revive it after a period of as long as fifty years or even longer. This usually happens because the diviners so order it when misfortune has overtaken the sib or because a buffalo wanders to the abandoned site and the diviners interpret its actions as directed by the töuno:ṭ who wishes the people to cease their neglect. The Todas in their religious thinking have not found it necessary to speculate about the fate of a töuno:ṭ when a mund is never revived. Nor are they troubled by the question of the relationship between the sacred buffaloes of a sib and the various dairy-complexes at which they are tended. Each sib operates a number of complexes and the same buffaloes may be kept at any of them in turn. [791] [614]

When Rivers said that each sib has a "ruling deity," he referred to the töuθɯṭ. The Toda phrase which he gave, nódrodohi, i. e. no·ṭo·ḍoi-, means "(the deity, i. e. the töuθɯṭ) ruled, or owned, the sacred place," or as one informant translated "used the mund." For each "chief mund" (ɯtuɯḍmoḍ or töuno:ṭ) was created, as we have said, by a töuθɯṭ who founded the dairy operations there and carried them on in the beginning. [614]

771 of the oldest men in the tribe and now dead; see *Toda Garments*
776 *and Embroidery*, note 2) when theology was once being discussed
177 in my presence. This belief has no influence on the formulas of
Toda ritual, and is clearly quite extraneous to the proper cult. It
is undoubtedly a borrowing from other Hindu communities, as
is the frequent use of the vocative so·mi· as an expletive of
[797] surprise and wonder. Christian missionary teaching seems to
have had no influence at all on Toda belief and practices.

177 It is of some interest to enquire why the Todas have not set
778 up in their villages shrines of Hindu deities. It might seem that
the nature of the munds, explained above, consisting of a sacred
part which is itself a god and a profane part where carriers of
pollution, especially women, live, would preclude the admission
of a Hindu deity. Such an argument however is quite irrelevant,
and would undoubtedly have no weight if the occasion ever
arose when the need of setting up a shrine was felt. In general,
such shrines or temples are not set up in South India at random.
A Hindu god in the mind of rustic and unlettered communities
171 is definitely associated with the spot where his temple is, and
177 will move to another spot only if he so wills it and makes known
778 his will through a diviner or other person who is possessed of
this god. This was the case when the Kotas of one of the
villages some years ago at a time of epidemic brought to their
village a new trinity of gods, who are said to have come from
Karaimadai in the plains. These new gods spoke through a man
who is now one of the official diviners of this trinity. He had
not before been a diviner. It can hardly be doubted that discussion
had previously taken place about the efficacy of the old
polyandrous trinity of the village and that the general tension
of feeling consequent on the epidemic helped to bring about the
possession of the man by the new gods. Incidentally, the presence
in this village of two trinities with attributes and ceremonies
of the same order has caused an immense amount of friction
177 within the community. The Todas also have their diviners and
778 it is quite conceivable that they should at some time produce
791 utterances with the same purport as those of the above-mentioned
Kota. This has not happened so *far*, and it may be that the
present pattern of their utterances makes it improbable that they

will order the setting up in the munds of Hindu shrines. They 177
now at times of misfortune order propitiation of the tribal gods 778
or the making of vows to temples already established and well 791
known to the Todas. The two outlets are probably sufficient for
all Toda needs, though the Kotas, who had much the same two
outlets, worship at their own temples and occasional making of
vows to Hindu temples, seems to have found them insufficient in
a time of stress.

A puzzling point in Toda religion is the calf-sacrifice (Rivers 782
pp. 274-290). Rivers had difficulty in learning anything about 114
it, and I have encountered equal difficulty. I finally succeeded [124]
in having a sham performance put on for me in great secrecy.
The chief of the two performers said that he had never been
present at a sacrifice of this kind, while the other had assisted
at the sacrifice at one of the most sacred dairies, the ti :-dairies;
the former man also asserted that the calf-sacrifice is extremely
rare except at ti :-dairies. Other informants however have stated
that it takes place frequently at the munds as well as at the ti :-
dairies. My chief informant was probably concealing the truth.
One reason why this was so was accidentally dropped by him,
that the Todas are ashamed to have it known that they eat meat [262]
at this sacrifice. This type of purity as a mark of high caste, if it [564]
was not known to the Todas from the beginning of their occupa- [177]
tion of the Nilgiris, has perhaps been preached to them by Hindu
missionaries or may perhaps have become known to them quite
casually from contact with plains Hindus. It seems unlikely
however that this is all that is behind the secrecy surrounding
the subject, but more information is not to be had. The same
secrecy has undoubtedly falsified my records of the songs in
several places. The sacrifice should be mentioned in several
different contexts, as I discovered late in my field-work. Substitutions of innocuous phrases were made until one of my informants through familiarity became careless and used the proper
phrase. I was able in later dictations to prompt the informants,
to their slight surprise and discomfort, and to record both the
reference to the sacrifice and the attempted substitution.

It will be seen from the preceding discussion that changes in 177
Toda culture due to outside influences have been extremely
slight. In religion no changes since Rivers' time are known; [791]

TODA MENSTRUATION PRACTICES*

By

M. B. EMENEAU, Yale University.

841 The Todas of the Nilgiris in South India in the regulations governing
121 women during menstruation are as peculiar as in many other of their institutions.
In the account of their regulations which is presented in this paper
this will be shown by reference to the regulations of the communities surrounding them.

841 During this period Toda women are not secluded, as they are by the
171 Kotas and Badagas of the Nilgiris and by most other communities of India.
They remain in the one-room houses of the tribe and no restrictions are
placed on their contacts with ordinary men. Sexual intercourse is forbidden,
but other physical contacts are allowed. E.g. they may sit on the same seat
as a man and may assist a man or be assisted by him in dressing the hair,
bathing etc. Contact is always avoided even in the woman's normal state
[602] with a man of the same patrilineal sib or with a man of the same matri-
[614] lineal line,[1] but during menstruation no further restrictions are imposed.
They cook as usual; this again is in marked contrast with the practice of other
communities of India. The taboo on sexual intercourse during a woman's
[684] menstrual period is apparently broken at times; no penalty is applied either
to the man or to the woman if such breach is discovered. A man however
[793] who has had such intercourse may not become a dairyman-priest until after
[234] the next new moon.

841 The period involves however an even stricter seclusion from contact with
778 the dairy-complex than is usually enjoined on the Toda women. The res-
234 triction on a man's becoming a priest after intercourse with a menstruating
woman has just been mentioned. Normally women may drink buttermilk
[462] from the dairies, and it is the women's task to take receptacles to the line of
stones marking off the houses, or profane part of the munds,[2] from the dairy
and its grounds, in order that the priest may fill them with buttermilk. Both
these practices are forbidden for menstruating women. Even during their

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[122] * This paper was written during receipt of aid from the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund), to which I must acknowledge my gratitude.

[113] [1] See my paper "Toda marriage regulations and taboos" in *American Anthropologist* 39. 108-12.

[361] [778] [776] [2] A mund is any place where the Todas live or carry on tribal activities which are localised, e.g., funerals or dairy operations. In my paper "Toda culture thirty-five years after" in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Vol. XIX, pp. 101-121, I have outlined the nature of the munds and have shown that those at which the people live are typically made up of two parts, a dairy-complex which is a god, and a profane part where the houses are.

normal period they must be careful not to touch the priest while he is exercising his priestly duties; e.g. when a woman takes the vessel to the line of stones, she sets it down on the ground and retreats a few paces and the priest avoids contact even with the profane vessel. Priests, however, are permitted to sleep in the profane part of the mund, the houses, on certain nights of the week, depending on the grade of dairy at which they officiate, and on these nights they may have intercourse with the women in the houses and no restriction is put upon their contact with the women.[1] A menstruating woman, however, must not stay in the house when a priest comes to sleep there. She is further debarred from touching any buffaloes, calves, or buffalo-pens, even those which she may touch at ordinary times, as e.g. non-sacred buffaloes which are being milked for the use of the houses. The restrictions which ward off women from the dairy-complex are at ordinary times stringent enough; these extra ones are designed to remove the last traces of contact during a woman's menstruation period. 841 778 234 [793]

The funeral huts used for men at all male funeral places are called by the word which denotes a dairy (poɬy). Some of the sibs in fact place the corpse of a man in a dairy which is used as such and in one or two other cases there are traditions that the funeral huts were originally dairies of certain grades.[2] A menstruating woman may not enter any funeral hut of a male to lament over the body. This is a slight further indication that all the funeral huts of males are regarded as dairies, as they are terminologically. The ne:lpoɬy, or hut which is built for the accommodation of the relics of a man between the first and second funerals, also has as part of its name the word for dairy. It is not however regarded as a dairy, nor is there any indication that it was a dairy at any stage of its development. But no menstruating woman may enter it. It is probable that this restriction has been made following upon the restriction on a menstruating woman's entering the funeral hut proper. 764 841 778 [614]

One mund, kuu:sy of the sib called mö:ṛ was according to tradition formerly a dairy-mund of the highest grade, a ti :-mund. A certain amount of its original sanctity still attaches to it, and in theory women do not live there any more than they do at ti :-munds. The inconvenience of this regulation is however overcome in practice by a fiction. Women live at the mund kuu:sy but the marks of women's occupation are not allowed in the mund, i.e., the grain-pounder, the winnowing-basket, and the broom must be kept outside the mund and never brought to the houses. All household duties involving these articles must be performed outside of the munds. Likewise, no menstruating woman may stay in the mund; she must go outside and stay away for three days. At ordinary times she may be in the mund by a fiction, but when she is really and unequivocally a woman, the fiction will not avail to preserve the sanction of this mund. 778 183 562 [841]

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[1] See RIVERS, *The Todas*, pp. 62 (towards the bottom), 67 (bottom), 72 (towards the bottom), 78 (middle). [113]

[2] RIVERS, pp. 339-40.

The giving of cloths in various Toda ceremonies was compared with cloth-giving ceremonies in Malabar. It will be found, however, as Rivers recognized,[30] that giving of cloths, both in marriage ceremonies and otherwise, is very general throughout India. No stress should be laid on this detail until and unless further investigations of other Indian communities warrant it. So also with the breaking of pots at funerals; it is not confined to the Todas and the Malabar coast. 174 431 171

The use of poles and boxes at funerals, of cowries, and of leaf-umbrellas, all of these being obtained from Malabar, is hardly more than the use of trade-objects, and is probably to be regarded as an example of diffusion of comparatively unessential material objects. The place of origin does not matter in the case of the cowries and the umbrellas; they have now been replaced by glass beads and European-type umbrellas respectively. It is doubtful whether the place of origin has any significance in the case of the other objects. 174 [439] [177]

The Toda munds at Gudalur are well known in tradition as recent foundations; they have now been abandoned. The origin of some sacred buffaloes in the Wynaad, i.e. the same general area between the Nilgiris and Malabar, is paralleled by the origin of other sacred buffaloes on the Coimbatore, i.e. the Tamilian, plains on the other side of the Nilgiris. [361] [778] [231]

It is evident then that the Malabar origin for the Todas and their customs favored by Rivers is untenable.[31] The Toda matrilineal sibs, which were unknown to Rivers, could have been used by him to bolster up his hypothesis, but it would have proved to be of no more value than his other evidence. It is clear that the general South Indian situation sketched above provides a sufficient basis for the Toda developments. The South Indian exogamous patrilineal sib has retained full vigor among the Todas. The exogamous tendencies of the matrilineal line which work in varying degrees in all South Indian communities have been developed among the Todas into full-fledged exogamous matrilineal sibs, probably on the model of the patrilineal sibs and facilitated by the small size of the tribe. We have here nothing more than an isolated local development, easily derivable from a general cultural feature of South India. The resemblance to the Malabar matrilineal communities is only superficial, for there the patrilineal units, if they originally existed, have been entirely superseded by the matrilineal units. 114 174 614

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[30] Rivers, p. 700.

[31] Rivers also toyed with Coorg as a source for Toda customs, basing this partly on linguistic, partly on ethnological grounds. It may be mentioned here that the polyandry alleged for the Coorgs, if it ever existed, seems to have left no trace either verbally or in relic-institutions, so far as I was able to discover in eight months of linguistic work in Coorg. The linguistic grounds given by Rivers (p. 114) for Toda knowledge of the Coorgs are incorrect. The Todas call the plains at the foot of the Nilgiris, i.e. to the south, east, and northeast, kōŋg. This is etymologically connected with Kota koŋg in the same meaning, Tamil koŋku "the Tamil country comprising the districts of Coimbatore, Salem, and a portion of Mysore," in effect the same area as that meant by the Toda and Kota words, Kannaḍa koŋgu with the same meaning as the Tamil word, Malayalam koŋŋu (no dictionary is accessible for the meaning). Rivers understood at least one instance of the Toda word as being equivalent to the English word Coorg. This is impossible. "Coorg" represents the Kannaḍa koḍagu, which cannot be connected with Toda kōŋg and its cognates. The Todas have no knowledge of the Coorg country or of its inhabitants.

776 Then come two important demi-gods: a) *Kwotèn*, a man-god whose fabulous life is closely associated with one of the Toda clans (that of Pan); Rivers believed him to have been an outstanding Toda personality who was possibly posthumously deified. b) *Kwoto*, another man-god; he is closely associated with the clan of Melgarsh; among the legendary feats which he is reputed to have accomplished is that of tying down the sun between two mountains and of taking it to drink at a stream every day, in order to prove to the gods, who had challenged him, that he possessed supernatural powers.

197 The language spoken by the Todas is a Dravidian dialect. According to Emeneau, it is more akin to Canarese (Kanada) than to Tamil, although it cannot be said to be a very close relative of the former either. 191 All Todas are, anyhow, bilingual, and very often even trilingual, conversing freely in Badaga with their neighbours and in Tamil with visitors from the plains. 212 As they have no script of their own, when they occasionally want to write something (such as commemorative inscriptions on temple doors) they make use of Tamil characters. 177 I have never seen them use Roman letters, but I have been told (by Miss C. F. Ling for instance) that although not habitual, this is sometimes also done.

234 433 The economy of the Todas is a pastoral one, large herds of great horned buffaloes, which do not resemble those of the plains, being kept for their milk and milk products. [778] Many of these animals are quite ordinary (*putir*) but the great majority of them are pedigree cattle of a sacred nature (*postir*), their ancestry being calculated through the cows. They are believed to have been given to the tribe by the gods. They are grouped in four principal categories, each graded hierarchically. [778] Thus the lowest category is that of the *wursulir*, then come the *nodrovair* and the *Kugvalir*, and finally, the highest and most sacred of all, the *tiir*.

[648] [241] [427] Like other pastoral people, the Todas consider it degrading to take to agriculture, and repeated attempts by the Indian Government to induce them to till the soil have miserably failed. When given a field to cultivate, they usually let it out to a Badaga for a nominal sum, preferring to carry on with their animal husbandry and its semi-nomadic form of life, a tradition deeply ingrained in them and to which they are greatly attached. [439] Most of the milk, butter and buttermilk produced by the tribe is consumed by its members, but a certain amount is sold in the local market, and the money thus earned made use of to 433 511 buy other foods and everyday commodities. On the whole, the Toda

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economy is not a poor one, and the standard of living of the tribe is 511
quite definitely higher than that of the average plainsman.

The dairyman with the Todas is the priest, and his processing of 234
the milk produced by the sacred animals into butter and buttermilk is [793]
looked upon as a religious act. Ths takes place in specially constructed
buildings which are dairies and temples at the same time. They are [343
known by the generic term of *polkhthli*, and their degree of sanctity
varies proportionally to the type of buffalo which they serve. Thus the 346
highest dairy-temples are called *ti* (where *tiir* are cared for), the lowest 778]
tarvali (which is the *mad*'s, serving ordinary buffaloes or *putir*), and
there are such intermediate ones as *wursuli* (for the *wursulir*), *kurpali*
(for the *nodrovair*) and *kugvali* (for the *kugvalir*).

To each of these herds of buffaloes and to their corresponding 234
dairy-temple, there is a priest-dairyman, who alone is allowed to milk 793
the animals and process their milk in accordance with an ancient ritual,
which consists mainly in the recital of stereotyped formulae, called [788]
kwarshm. The *ti* and *tiir* are served by a *palol*, who is highest ranking
priest of the tribe, assisted by a *kaltmokh*; the *tarvali* or village dairy-temple is in charge of a *tarvalikartmokh*, while the *wursuli*, *kurpali*
and *kugvali* have respectively a *wursol*, a *kurpalikartmokh* and a *kugvalikartmokh*. These priests are subjected to very strict rules of behaviour and ritual purity, and are recognizable at once by the black [292]
cloak of office which they wear, the *tuni*. The *palol* at the *ti* alone has
to milk the very holy *tiir*, completely naked, except for a diminutive
perineal band, the *kuvn* – no mean feat during the winter, in the cold
and rarefied atmosphere at nearly 8,000 feet.

The Toda tribe, very homogeneous, consisting only of men and 616
women of that name, is divided into two patrilineal, respectively endogamous 104
moieties, that of the Tardharsh and that of the Teivilkh. I
am purposely spelling these names at variance with the orthography of 114
W. H. R. Rivers, because it appears to me closer this way to the
manner in which the Todas pronounce them. Other words in this
chapter which do not conform to the fashion in which the author of
The Todas writes them are purposely spelt differently so as to be in
keeping with what seemed to me a more faithful phonetic rendering of
Toda speech.

The tribe considers the Tardharsh moiety as superior to the Teivilkh, 616
and gives higher social status to the members of the former; in what 554
follows, there will be numerous examples of this discrimination, which
is continually encountered by anyone having anything to do with the

233 the Toda themselves, have separate ritual categories. Some herds are
771 kept in very sacred dairies and are handled by the most highly purified
[793] priests (*palol*). The milking of the sacred buffaloes and the preparation
[234] of the various milk products are also relegated to the special
[552] priests. All the buffaloes have human names.

The most important ritual institution is the "sacred dairy," which
234 is a temple (*palli*). Entrance or even approach to the temple is severely
778 restricted and in the highest "dairies" there is a division between the
especially sacred inner chamber where a sacred cowbell (*mani*) and
the various milk-churning utensils are kept and the outer chamber
which holds the utensils in which milk products are given to ordinary
people. The division between the sacred and the ordinary is so fundamental
that when the *palol* drinks water his right hand, used in churning,
may not come near his mouth: he pours the water from the right
to the left and drinks it from the left hand. The *palli* is in certain
778 respects the model for the ordinary dwelling, where again a division
342 between the sacred inner chamber and the ordinary women's quarters
is maintained. In the inner chamber, the men handle milk products;
[272] in the outer chamber the women prepare grain for food. Milk is so
[562] sacred, according to Rivers, that women are not allowed to cook with
it. The household, too, has a sacred bell like the "dairy"—so that,
just as the model human society is applied to the buffaloes, the
model of the sacred temples is carried over to ordinary dwellings.

621 In terms of social organization, Rivers observes that they have a
territorial organization into *mad* (hamlets), which he deliberately calls
"patrilineal clans." They are patrilineal only in the sense that the
851 child belongs to the *mad* of his *pater*. Paternity is fixed in the much-celebrated
bow-and-arrow ritual which takes place before the birth of
the child and, as Rivers observes, has important similarities to the
tali-tying ceremony of the matrilineal Nayar. The ceremony gives a
public answer to the question, "Whose bow shot the arrow?"

It is important to fix paternity, because sexual and marital relations
[83] are almost entirely free from restraints, and all kinds of polyandry,
[583] polygyny, wife exchange, and so on are permitted. Without the "public"
[595] statement of paternity, the *mad* position of the child could be
uncertain. On the other hand, Rivers also makes it quite clear that the
[611] Todas are not interested in retaining patrilineal genealogies as such.

611 The question of matrilineal descent is raised quite specifically by
114 Rivers both as it pertains to human beings and as it pertains to the
sacred buffalo. He rejects it in both cases, though it would have been
useful for his arguments to have found it with the Todas: "The Toda
show few traces of mother-right. . . . If the duties of the man towards
his sister's son among the Todas be a relic of mother-right, there can